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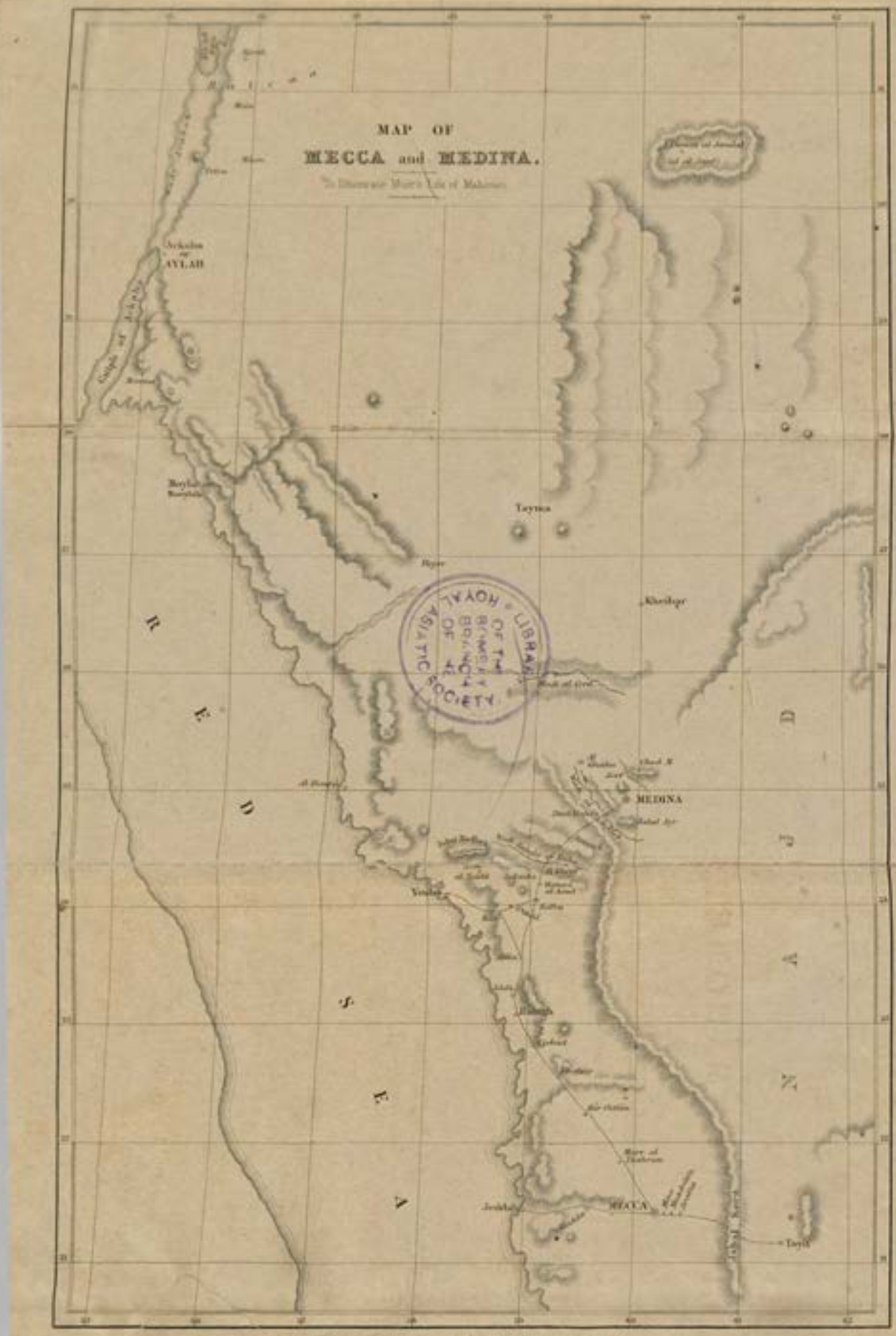
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THE

LIFE OF MAHOMET.

WITH INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS ON THE ORIGINAL SOURCES FOR THE BIOGRAPHY OF MAHOMET, AND ON THE PRE-ISLAMITE HISTORY OF ARABIA.

BY

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LIFE OF MAHOMET.

CHAPTER EIGHTEENTH.

Sixth Year of the Hegira.

A.D. 627, 628.

Ætat 59.

THE Sixth year of the Hegira was one of considerable activity at Medîna. No important battle indeed was fought, nor any grand expedition undertaken. But small parties were almost incessantly in motion, either for the chastisement of hostile tribes, for the capture of caravans, or for the repulse of robbers and marauders. We read of as many as sixteen or seventeen such expeditions during the year. They generally resulted in the dispersion of the enemy, and the capture of flocks and herds, which greatly enriched the followers of Mahomet, and stimulated their zeal for active service. They also maintained or increased the name and terror of the new potentate. But few of them were otherwise

Numerous minor expeditions undertaken in the sixth year of the Hegira.

attended with marked results; and it will not therefore be necessary to give a narrative of them all.*

Expedition by Mahomet against the Bani Lahyân. 1st Rabî, A.H. VI. June–July, A.D. 627.

Two of the expeditions were led by Mahomet himself. One was against the Bani Lahyân, whom he had long been desirous of chastising for their treacherous attack, two years before, on the little band of his followers at Rajî.† In the early part of the year he set out with a selected body of two hundred men on camels, and twenty horse.‡ That he might the more surely fall upon his enemy unawares, he first took the road towards Syria. After two or three marches in that direction, he suddenly turned south, and travelled rapidly along the sea-shore by the road to Mecca. But the stratagem was of no avail, for the Bani Lahyân had notice of his approach, and taking their cattle with them, retired to the heights, where they were safe from attack. At the spot where his followers had been slaughtered, he halted, and invoked pardon and

* Weil regards the comparative insignificance of these expeditions, and especially the smallness of Mahomet's following on the pilgrimage to Hodeibia, as a proof how low his authority had sunk. I see no grounds whatever for this conclusion. There was no object to call forth on these occasions any great exertion or any extensive gathering of his followers. I regard the authority of Mahomet as continuing steadily and uniformly on the advance, and as having been greatly increased by his successful resistance of the grand confederation which laid siege to Medîna. The expedition to Hodeibia was purely for the purpose of pilgrimage.

† Vol. ii. p. 201.

‡ Mahomet took only one of every two who volunteered, telling hem that both should have the merit of the expedition.

mercy on them. Small parties were then, for one or two days, sent to scour the vicinity, but no traces of the tribe were found in any quarter. Mahomet being now about two marches only from Mecca, advanced to Osfân, with the view of alarming the Coreish. From thence he sent Abu Bakr with ten horsemen, as it were his vanguard, to approach still nearer.* Satisfied with this demonstration, the force retraced its steps to Medîna. On his way back from this unsuccessful journey, Mahomet, who had been greatly incommoded by the heat, is said to have prayed thus:—"*Returning and repentant, yet if it please the Lord, praising His name and serving Him, I seek Refuge in God from the troubles of the way, the vexation of return, and the Evil eye affecting family and wealth.*"†

Pursuit of Uyeina, who had fallen upon the camels of Mahomet near Medîna. 1st Rabî, A.H. VI. July, A.D. 627.

Not many days after his return, Medîna was, early one morning, startled by a cry of alarm from the adjoining height of Silâ. Uyeina, chief of the Bani Fezâra, had come down during the night, with a troop of forty horse, upon the plain of Al Ghâba, within a few miles of Medîna, had fallen upon the milch camels of Mahomet which were grazing there, and driven off the whole herd, killing the keeper, and carrying away his wife a prisoner. A citizen, early

* He had halted at Ghirân, and thence marched to Osfân, distant five Arabian miles. Abu Bakr went on to Karâ al Ghamîm, three miles farther on the road to Mecca. Osfân is two ordinary stages from Mecca.

† *Kâtib al Wâckidi*, p. 114½; *Hishâmi*, p. 308.

on his way to the pasture lands, saw the marauding band, and gave the alarm. The call to arms was ordered by Mahomet. A troop of horse was immediately at the gate of the Mosque. These were despatched at once in pursuit,—Mahomet himself, with five or six hundred men following shortly after. Sád ibn Obáda, with three hundred followers, remained behind, to guard the city. The advanced party hung upon the rear of the marauders, slew several of them, and recovered half of the plundered camels. On the side of the Mussulmans only one man was killed. Mahomet, with the main body, marched as far as Dzu Carad, in the direction of Kheibar; but by this time the robbers were safe in the desert among the Bani Ghatfân. The captive female effected her escape on one of the plundered camels, which she vowed, if she reached Medîna in safety, to offer up as a sacrifice of thanksgiving. On acquainting Mahomet with her vow, he rallied her on the ingratitude of seeking to slay the animal which had saved her life, and which moreover was not hers to offer up. He bade her go to her home in peace. The force was five days absent from Medîna.*

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 115 ; *Hishâmi*, 309. The Secretary gives some stirring details connected with this adventure,—especially the narrative by Salma of his pressing, single-handed, on the enemy's rear along the narrow passes and thickets of the road. He and Abu Cotâda greatly distinguished themselves.

Al Micdâd was the first to come up to the Mosque on Mahomet's

Affair at Dzul Cassa: party of Moslems cut up. 2nd Rabî, A.H. VI. August, A D. 627.

Scarcity still prevailing in the desert, and rain having fallen plentifully in the direction of Medîna, the Ghatfân tribes were tempted, in their search for pasture, to encroach upon the bounds assigned to them in the treaty with Uyeina.* The herds of camels belonging to Medîna, greatly increased by the plunder of late years, had been sent out to graze in the same vicinity.† They offered a tempting prize for a foray, and the neighbouring tribes were suspected to be gathering for the purpose. Mohammad ibn Maslama was deputed with ten followers to ascertain how matters stood.‡ At Dzul Cassa, a place well advanced in the desert,§ he was surrounded in the night-time by overpowering numbers; after a short resistance, all his men were slain, and he himself, severely wounded,

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call; and Mahomet, having mounted the banner on his spear, sent him in advance with the horse; some say that he was the leader of the party, but others give that honour to Sád ibn Zeid, also a citizen. For the curious anecdote connected with this point, see vol. i. *Introd.* p. lxxxvi.

* See above, vol. iii. p. 226. The siege of Medîna, in which these Bedouins took a prominent part, may perhaps have been regarded as obliterating that treaty, and this is the more likely with reference also to the raid on Al Ghâba.

† They were sent out to Heifa, هيفا seven Arabian miles from Medîna.

‡ This is not mentioned by tradition as the object of the expedition; but it could have been the only object of so small a party, unless, indeed, it was intended as a deputation, or embassy.

§ Dzul Cassa was twenty-four Arabian miles from Medîna, on the road to Rabadza. *K. Wâckidi*, 116.

left on the field as dead. An adherent of Mahomet, happening to pass that way, assisted him on his journey back to Medîna. Immediately a force of forty well-mounted soldiers was despatched to chastize the offenders; but these had dispersed among the neighbouring heights, and excepting the plunder of some flocks and household stuff, no reprisals were effected.

A Meccan caravan plundered at *Al Is.* 1st Jumâd, A.H. VI. September, A.D. 627.

During the Autumn of this year, a force of one hundred and seventy men was despatched toward Al Is, to intercept, on its return, a rich caravan, which the Coreish had ventured to despatch by the route of the seashore to Syria. The attack was completely successful. The whole caravan, including a large store of silver belonging to Safwân, was plundered, and some of those who guarded it, taken prisoners.

Abul Aas and Zeinab, Mahomet's daughter.

Among the prisoners was Abul Aas, son-in-law of Mahomet. His romantic story deserves recital, as well for its own interest, as for the share which the Prophet himself bore therein. The reader will remember that, at Khadîja's desire, Mahomet married his daughter Zeinab to her nephew, Abul Aas, a prosperous trader in Mecca.* On the assumption of the prophetic office by his father-in-law, Abul Aas declined to embrace Islam. But he listened with equal unwillingness to the Coreish who bade him abandon Zeinab, and offered him the choice of their own daughters in her stead: —"I will not separate from my wife," he said,—"neither do I

* See vol ii. pp. 45, 264.

desire any other woman from amongst your daughters." Mahomet was much pleased by the faithfulness of Abul Aas to his daughter. The attachment was mutual, for when Mahomet and the rest of his family emigrated to Medîna, Zeinab remained behind at Mecca with her husband.

Abul Aas taken prisoner at Badr, is freed on condition of sending Zeinab to Medina.

In the battle of Badr, Abul Aas was taken prisoner. When the Coreish deputed men to ransom their prisoners, Zeinab sent by their hands such property as she had, for her husband's freedom. Among other things, was a necklace, which Khadîja had given her, on her marriage with Abul Aas. When the Prophet saw this touching memorial of his former wife, he was greatly overcome, and said to the people:—"If it seem right in your eyes, let my daughter's husband go free, and send back these things unto her." All agreed to this. But as a condition of his freedom, Mahomet required of Abul Aas that he should send Zeinab to Medîna. Accordingly, on his return to Mecca, Abul Aas, having made arrangements for her departure, sent her away mounted on a camel-litter, under the charge of his brother Kinâna. Some of the baser sort from amongst the Coreish, hearing of her departure, went in pursuit, determined to bring her back. The first that appeared was Habbâr, who struck the camel with his spear, and so affrighted Zeinab, as to cause her a miscarriage. Kinâna at once made the camel sit down and, by the mere sight of his bow and well-filled quiver, kept the pursuers at bay.

Just then Abu Sofiân came up and held a parley with Kinâna: "Ye should not," he said, "have gone forth thus publicly,—knowing the disaster we have so lately sustained at the hands of Mahomet. The open departure of his daughter will be accounted a proof of our weakness and humiliation. But it is no object of ours to keep back this woman from her father, or to retaliate our wrongs on her. Return, then, for a little while to Mecca, and when this excitement shall have died away, then set out secretly." They followed his advice: and some days after, Zeinab, escorted by Zeid ibn Hârith, who had been sent to meet her, reached Mahomet in safety.

Conversion of Abul Aas. A.H. VI.

It was between three and four years after this that Abul Aas, as above related, was again made prisoner at Al Is. As the party approached Medîna, he contrived by night to have an interview with Zeinab, who granted the protection which he sought. He then rejoined the other prisoners. In the morning, the people being assembled for prayers in the Mosque, Zeinab called out in a loud voice from her apartment, that she had given to Abul Aas her guarantee of protection. When the prayers were ended, Mahomet thus addressed the assembly:— "Ye have heard, as I have, the words of my daughter. I swear by Him in whose hands is my life, that I knew nothing of her guarantee until this moment. But the pledge of even the least of my followers must be respected." Thus saying, he retired to his daughter, and desired her to treat Abul Aas

with honour, as a guest, but not to recognize him as her husband. Then he sent for the captors of the caravan, and reminding them of his close connexion with Abul Aas, said,—"If ye treat him well, and return his property unto him, it would be pleasing to me; but if not, the booty is yours, which the Lord hath given into your hands, and it is your right to keep the same." They all with one consent agreed to let the prisoner go free, and to return the whole of his property. This generosity, and the continued attachment of Zeinab, so wrought upon Abul Aas, that, when he had adjusted his affairs at Mecca, he made profession of Islam, and joined his wife at Medîna. Their domestic happiness, thus renewed, was not of long continuance; for Zeinab died the following year from disease, said to have originated in the miscarriage caused by the attack of Habbâr at Mecca.

Mahomet commands that the two Coreish who pursued his daughter, be put to death, if caught.

The treatment of his daughter on that occasion, and especially the unmanly and barbarous conduct of Habbâr, greatly incensed Mahomet. Once, when a party was setting out on an expedition towards Mecca, he commanded that if Habbâr, or the comrade who joined him in the pursuit* of Zeinab, fell into their hands, they should both be burned

* The name of this second person is not given, but it may possibly have been Huweirith, who was killed by Ali on the capture of Mecca, for having, as is alleged, made an attack on *Fâtima and Omm Kolthûm* when they were leaving Mecca. *Hishâmi*, 363. I do not find any other evidence of an attack on Fâtima and Omm Kolthûm, which, had it actually occurred, would have been

alive. But during the night he reconsidered the order, and sent to countermand it in these words:—"It is not fitting for any to punish by fire but God only; wherefore if ye find the culprits, put them to death in the ordinary way."*

The Bani Judzâm chastized for robbing Dihya, who had been sent by Mahomet on an embassy to Syria. 2nd Jumâd, A.H. VI. October, A.D. 627.

The following incidents are connected with the first communication held by Mahomet with the Roman Empire. Dihya, one of his followers, was sent on a mission to the Emperor, or perhaps to one of the Governors of Syria.† He was graciously received, and presented with a dress of honour. On his way home, he was plundered of everything at Hisma, beyond Wâdi al Cora, by the Bani Judzâm. A neighbouring tribe, however, to whom Dihya at once complained, attacked the robbers, recovered the spoil, and restored it to him uninjured. On the robbery reaching the ears of Mahomet, he despatched Zeid with five hundred men, to chastize

plentifully spoken off. I conclude that the present was really the attack in which Huweirith was engaged; and that as Ali was his executioner, tradition consequently represents Ali's wife Fâtima, instead of Zeinab, as the object of that ruffian's attack.

* *Hishâmi*, 234; *K. Wâckidi*, 116½. It is satisfactory to find that at Mecca, the cruelty of Habbâr was scouted as unmanly. Even Hind, wife of Abu Sofiân, gave vent to her indignation at it. Meeting the party as it returned, she extemporized some severe verses against them:—"Ah! in time of peace ye are very brave and fierce against the weak and unprotected, but in the battle ye are like women with gentle speeches," &c.

† The nature of the mission is not stated by the Secretary. M. C. de Perceval says that it was to demand from the Emperor, in the name of Mahomet, liberty of commerce with the Roman Provinces. Vol iii. p. 157.

the delinquents.* Marching by night, and concealing themselves by day, they fell unexpectedly on the Bani Judzâm, killed several of them, including their chief, and carried off a hundred of their women and children, with a great collection of herds and flocks. Another chief of the same tribe, who had previously tendered his submission to Mahomet, hastened to Medîna, and appealed against these proceedings. He produced the letter of terms which Mahomet had made with his tribe, and demanded justice.—"But," said Mahomet, "how can I compensate thee for those that have been slain?" "Release to us the living," was the chief's reply;—"as for the dead, they are beneath our feet." Mahomet acknowleged the justice of the demand, and despatched Ali to order restoration. He met Zeid on his way back to Medîna, and the prisoners and booty were immediately surrendered to the chief.

Second expedition to Dûma. Shabân, A.H. V. November, 627.

Soon after, Abd al Rahmân set out with seven hundred men, on a second expedition to Dûmat al Jandal. Mahomet bound a black turban in token of command, about his head. He was to endeavour first to gain over the people of Dûma, and to fight only in the last resort:—"but in no case," continued the Prophet, "shalt thou use deceit or perfidy, nor shalt thou kill any child." On reaching Dûma, he summoned the tribes to embrace

* Zeid ibn Hârith commanded five or six of the expeditions undertaken this year.

Islam, and allowed them three days' grace. Within that period, Al Asbagh, a Christian chief of the Bani Kalb, gave in his adhesion, and many followed his example. Others preferred to be tributaries, with the condition of being allowed to maintain the profession of Christianity. Abd al Rahmân communicated these tidings by a messenger to Mahomet, who, in reply, desired him to marry Tamâdhir, daughter of the chief. Abd al Rahmân accordingly brought this lady with him to Medîna, where she bore him Abu Salma (the famous jurisconsult of after days), and amid many rivals, maintained her position as one of his wives, till her husband's death.*

The Bani Fezâra chastized for waylaying a Medina caravan. Ramdhân, A.H. VI. Dec. A.D. 627.

After several warlike raids of inferior importance, Zeid ibn Hârith set out upon a mercantile expedition to Syria, carrying with him ventures, for barter there, from many of the citizens. The caravan was waylaid near Wâdi al Corâ, seven marches from Medîna, and plundered by the Bani Fezâra. This occasioned much exasperation at Medîna. When Zeid was sufficiently recovered from the injuries inflicted by the robbers, he was sent forth with a strong force to execute vengeance

* *K. Wâckidi*, 117, 203½. For some account of Abd al Rahmâns conjugal relations, see vol ii. pp. 272, 273. Besides concubines, he *had issue by sixteen wives*, and may have married many others who bore him no children. As he could have no more than *four* wives at a time, the frequent changes and divorces may be imagined.

upon them. He approached stealthily, and effecting a complete surprise, captured the marauders' stronghold. Omm Kirfa, aunt of Uyeina, who had gained celebrity as the mistress of this nest of robbers, was taken prisoner with her daughter. Neither the sex, nor the great age of Omm Kirfa, saved her from a death of extreme barbarity. Her legs were tied each to a separate camel. The camels were driven in different directions, and thus she was torn in sunder. Two young brothers of the same family were also put to death. Zeid, on his return, hastened to visit Mahomet, who, eager to learn the intelligence, came forth to meet him with his dress ungirded; and learning the success of the expedition, embraced and kissed him. We read of no disapprobation expressed by the Prophet at the inhuman treatment of Omm Kirfa, and are therefore warranted in holding him to be an accomplice in the ferocious act. The daughter was given as a slave to Mahomet, who presented her to one of his followers. *

Barbarous execution of Omm Kirfa.

His old enemies, the Jews, were still the cause of annoyance to Mahomet. A party of the Bani Nadhîr, with their chief, Abul Huckeick, after being

Assassination of Abul Huckeick (Abu Râfi) a Jewish chief.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 117. Omm Kirfa was grand-daughter of Badr, a patriarch of the tribe, and had married her cousin Malk, uncle of Uyeina. They formed a branch of the Fezâra, which again belonged to the Bani Dzobian, a tribe of the Bani Ghatafân, vol i. p. ccxxiv. *table.* Hisn, the father of Uyeina, was a leader in the battle of Jabala. *Ibid.* p. ccxxvi. The person who put Omm Kirfa to death was Cays ibn al Mohsin, a name I am not familiar with.

Ramadhân, A.H. VI. December, A.D. 627.

expelled from Medîna, had settled among their brethren at Kheibar. Abul Huckeick (called also Sallâm and Abu Râfi) had taken a prominent part among the confederates who besieged Medîna, and he was now suspected of inciting the Bani Fezâra and other Bedouin tribes in their depredations. An expedition was undertaken by Ali, with one hundred men, against a combination of the Bani Sád ibn Bakr, said to have been concocted with the Jews of Kheibar; but besides a rich booty of camels and flocks, it produced no other result.* As a surer means of putting a stop to these machinations, Mahomet resolved on ridding himself of their supposed author, the Jewish chief. The Bani Khazraj, emulous of the distinction which the Bani Aws gained some years before, by the assassination of Káb, had long declared themselves ready to perform a similar service. Mahomet therefore chose five men from amongst that tribe, and gave them command to make away with Abul Huckeick. On approaching Kheibar, they concealed themselves till nightfall when they repaired to the house of their victim. Abdallah ibn Atîk, the leader of the party, who was familiar with the Bani Nadhîr, and spoke their language fluently, addressed the wife

* This expedition occurred in Shabân (November), *i. e.* a month before the assassination of Abul Huckeick. *K. Wâckidî*, 117. Ali advanced as far as Hamaj between Kheibar and Fadak. The Bani Sád, a branch of the Hawâzin, were among the confederates who besieged Medîna.

of the chief, who came at his summons to the door, and gained admittance on a false pretext.* When she perceived that the men were armed, she screamed aloud, but they pointed their weapons at her, and forced her to be silent at the peril of her life. Then they rushed into the inner chamber, and despatched Abul Huckeick with their swords. They hastily withdrew, and hid themselves in some adjacent caves till the pursuit was over. Then they returned to Medîna. When Mahomet saw them approaching, he exclaimed, "Success attend you!"—"And thee, O Prophet!" they replied. They recounted to him all that had happened; and as each one claimed the honour of the deed, Mahomet examined their weapons, and from the marks on the sword of Abdallah ibn Oneis, assigned to him the merit of the fatal blow.†

Oseir ibn Zârim and a party of Jews slain:

The assassination of Abul Huckeick did not relieve Mahomet of his apprehensions from the Jews

* According to one account, he pretended he had brought a present for her husband; according to another, that he had come to traffic with him in corn.

† It is the same Abdallah ibn Oneis who had assassinated Sofiân. See above, vol. iii. p. 200.

I have chiefly followed the secretary of Wâckidi, p. 117½. There are variations in *Hishâmi*, p. 306; and *Tabari*, p. 342, *et seq.*; but none which diminish the share taken by Mahomet in the foul deed. The variations are chiefly caused by the eagerness of each member of the party, and their respective friends, to magnify the part taken by them in the assassination.

One account relates that Abdallah ibn Atîk, in hastening from the victim's house, fell over the stair and had his leg broken, which Mahomet, touching, miraculously cured.

Shawwâl, A.H. VI. January, A.D. 628.

of Kheibar; for Oseir ibn Zârim, elected chief in his room, maintained the same relations with the Bani Ghatafân, and was reported to be designing fresh movements against Medîna. Mahomet deputed Abdallah ibn Rawâha, a leader of the Bani Khazraj, to Kheibar, with three followers, to make inquiries as to how Oseir also might be taken unawares. But Abdallah found the Jews too much on the alert to admit of a second successful attempt at assassination. On his return, therefore, a new stratagem was devised. Abdallah ibn Rawâha, was sent openly with thirty men mounted on camels, to persuade Oseir to visit Medîna. They assured him that Mahomet would make him ruler over Kheibar, and would treat him with great distinction; and they gave him a solemn guarantee of safety. Oseir consented, and set out with thirty followers, each Moslem taking one behind him on his camel. The unfortunate chief was mounted on the camel of Abdallah ibn Oneis, who relates that, after they had travelled some distance, he perceived Oseir stretching forth his hand towards his sword. Urging forward his camel till he was well beyond the rest of the party, Abdallah called out, "Enemy of the Lord! Treachery! Twice hath he done this thing." As he spoke, he leaped from the camel, and aimed a deadly blow at Oseir, which took effect on the hip joint. The chief fell mortally wounded from the camel; but in his descent he succeeded in wounding Abdallah's head, with the camel staff, the only weapon within his reach. At this

signal, each of the Mussulmans turned upon the man behind him, and the Jews were all murdered, excepting one who eluded pursuit. The party continued their journey to Medîna, and reported the trajedy to Mahomet, who gave thanks and said,—"Verily, the Lord hath delivered you from an unrighteous People."

By treachery.

The reader will not fail to have remarked that we have the evidence only of the practised assassin, Abdallah ibn Oneis, for the treachery of Oseir. This man knew that Abdallah ibn Rawâha had already been despatched on a secret errand with the view of getting rid of the Jewish Chief; and from his previous history, it is too evident that he scrupled little as to the means employed for taking the life of any one proscribed by the Prophet. Abdallah alleges that Oseir suddenly repented of his determination to go to Medîna, and meditated treachery. On which side the treachery lay may be gathered from the result. Oseir was unarmed, and so apparently were all his followers: for excepting the wound inflicted *with the camel-staff* upon Abdallah, no injury was sustained by any of the Moslems. The probabilities are entirely opposed to the charge of Abdallah; and even supposing the suspicions against Oseir well-founded, they will hardly be viewed as a sufficient justification of the cold-blooded massacre of his unoffending companions.*

* *K. Wâckidi*, 117½.

Certain *Urnee* robbers executed barbarously, for plunder and murder.

A party of eight Bedouin Arabs * had some time previously come to Medîna and embraced Islam. The damp of the climate disagreed with them, and they pined away from disease of the spleen. Mahomet bade them, for a cure, to join themselves to one of his herds of milch camels, which grazed in the plain south of Cûba, under the hill of Ayr, † and drink of their milk.‡ Following his advice they soon recovered; but with returning strength, there revived also the innate love of plunder. They drove off the camels, and attempted to escape with them. The herdsman, joined by a few others, pursued the plunderers, but was repulsed and barbarously handled; for they cut off his hands and legs, and stuck thorny spikes into his tongue and eyes, till he died.§ When tidings of this outrage reached Mahomet, he despatched twenty horsemen in pursuit.‖ They surrounded and seized the robbers,

* Of the Urnee tribe. H. V. Kremer has mistaken the name for that of a place. *Campaigns of Wâckîdi, notes*, p. 4.

† The place called Dzul Jidr was six Arabian miles from Medina. Mahomet had many herds which were sent to graze wherever there was good pasture. This one consisted of fifteen camels.

‡ And it is added, their urine also.

§ His name was Yâsar. He was a slave captured in the war of the Bani Muhârib and Thalaba, and had been freed by Mahomet. The cruelties of the Bedouins are possibly exaggerated to justify the barbarity of Mahomet.

‖ They were commanded by Kurz ibn al Jâbir, whom we have seen above (vol. iii. p. 68,) as engaged in one of the first raids against Medina. At what period he was converted and came to Medina is not mentioned.

and recovered all the camels but one, which had been slaughtered and eaten. The captives were conducted to Mahomet, who was justly exasperated at their ingratitude, and at their savage treatment of his servant. They had merited death; but the mode in which he inflicted it was barbarous and inhuman. The arms and legs of the eight men were cut off, and their eyes put out. The shapeless, sightless, trunks of these wretched Bedouins were then impaled upon the plain of Al Ghâba, until life was extinct.*

Mutilation recognized as a legal punishment.

On reflection, Mahomet appears to have felt that this punishment exceeded the bounds of humanity. He accordingly promulgated a Revelation, in which capital punishment is limited to simple death or crucifixion. Amputation of the hands and feet is, however, sanctioned as a penal measure; and amputation of the hands is even enjoined as the proper penalty for theft, whether the criminal be male or female. This barbarous custom has accordingly been perpetuated throughout the Mahometan world. But the putting out of the eyes is not recognized among the legal punishments. The following is the passage referred to:—

"Verily the recompence of those that fight against God and his Prophet, and haste to commit wickedness in the land, is that

* What Mahomet was doing then at Ghâba is not quite certain. According to Hishâmi, he was on his way home from Dzu Carád, which would make the transaction six or seven months earlier. The place is also called "Al *Rúâba*, at the meeting of the waters," *i.e.* near Ohod. Qy. Al *Zaghâba*, which is another name for Al Ghâba. *Burckhardt*, p. 328; *K. Wâckidi*, 118; *Hishâmi*, 454.

they shall be slain or crucified; or that their hands and feet of the opposite sides be cut off; or that they be banished from the land. That shall be their punishment in this Life, and in the Life to come they shall have great torment. * * *

"As regards the Robber, and the Female robber, cut off the hands of both." *

Attempt, under the orders of Mahomet, to assassinate Abu Sofiân.

The Secretary of Wâckidi assigns to this period† an attempt made, under the orders of Mahomet, to assassinate Abu Sofiân. As its cause, he states that a Bedouin Arab had been sent by Abu Sofiân to Medîna, on a similar errand against Mahomet; but that the emissary was discovered, and confessed the object of his mission. According to Hishâmi (who makes no mention of this latter circumstance), the attempted assassination was ordered by Mahomet in the *fourth* year of the Hegira, in immediate revenge for the execution of the two captives taken

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* *Sura*, v. 39, 44. For repeated robberies, a second, third, and fourth hand and foot may be cut off, rendering the criminal a helpless, shapeless, cripple.

† *K. Wâckidi*, p. 118. He makes the attempt to assassinate Abu Sofiân follow the affair of the Urnee robbers, but without specifying the month. It may have occurred in Shawwâl, or January, 628. It does not appear in the list of expeditions which prefaces Wâckidi's campaigns. Our authorities are quite consistent as to the deputation of Amr, its object, and Mahomet's authority. There is just a shadow of possibility that the tradition may have been fabricated by the anti-Omeyad party to throw odium on the memory of Abu Sofiân, as having been deemed by Mahomet worthy of death. But this is not to be put against the evidence of unanimous and apparently independent traditions.

at Rajî.* Whatever the inciting cause, there is no reasonable doubt that a commission was given by the Prophet to Amr ibn Omeya, a practised assassin,† to proceed to Mecca, and murder his opponent Abu Sofiân. Amr was recognized, as he lurked near the Kaaba, before he could carry his design into effect, and he was obliged to flee for his life. True, however, to his profession, he claims the credit of having assassinated three of the Coreish by the way, and a fourth he brought prisoner to Medîna.

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* *Hishâmi*, p. 451. To confirm this, Hishâmi adds that Amr passed by the spot of the execution, and saw men guarding the corpse of Khobeib the martyr.

† He is the same who, escaping from the massacre at Bîr Maûna, assassinated the two travellers for whom Mahomet paid compensation. Vol. iii. p. 208. He is stated by the secretary to have been before Islam a *professional* assassin,—ناتک, p. 118, and marginal note; so that the people of Mecca, in recognizing him, immediately understood what his errand was.

CHAPTER NINETEENTH.

Pilgrimage to Al Hodeibia. Dzul Cada, A.H. VI. *March,* A.D. 628.

Mahomet and his followers anxious to perform pilgrimage to Mecca.

SIX years had by this time passed away since Mahomet, and those who emigrated with him, had seen their native city: had visited the Holy house, and the sacred places around it: or joined in the yearly pilgrimage, which from childhood they had grown up to regard as an essential part of their social and religious life. They longed to re-visit these scenes, and once more to unite in the solemn rites of the Kaaba.

Political considerations which added force to the desire.

No one shared in these feelings more earnestly than Mahomet himself. It was, moreover, of great importance to his cause that he should practically show his attachment to the ancient faith of Mecca. He had, indeed, in the Coran, insisted upon that faith as an indispensable element of the new religion; he had upbraided the Coreish for obstructing the approach of pious worshippers to the Temple of God; and had denounced them, because of their idolatrous practices, as not the rightful guardians of it.* Yet

* *Sura* viii. 33. After threatening the Coreish, the passage proceeds,—"And what have they to urge that God should not

something more than this was needed practically to exhibit his attachment to the ancestral creed and customs of the Coreish. If he made no effort to visit the holy places, and fulfil the sacred rites, he would lay himself open justly to the charge of lukewarmness and neglect. His precept must be supported by example.

Inducements for making the lesser pilgrimage in the month of Dzul Cada.

Meditating thus, Mahomet had a vision in the night. Followed by his people, he dreamed that he entered Mecca in peaceful security, and having made the circuit of the Kaaba, and slain the victims, completed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. The dream was communicated to his followers, and every one longed for its realization. It foretold nothing of fighting or contest; the entrance was to be quiet and unopposed. Now the sacred month of Dzul Cada was at hand, in which the *Omra*, or lesser pilgrimage,* might with much propriety and merit be undertaken. There would then be less chance of collision with hostile tribes, than at the general pilgrimage in the succeeding month. Furthermore, in the month of

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chastize them, seeing that they have hindered his servants from the sacred Temple; and they are not the Guardians thereof,—verily, none are its Guardians but the pious. But the greater part of them do not consider.

"And their prayers at the Temple are nought but whistling through the fingers, and clapping of the hands. Taste, therefore, the punishment of your unbelief."

* See vol. i. p. ccv.

Dzul Cada, war was unlawful throughout Arabia, much more within the inviolate precincts of Mecca. If Mahomet and his followers, therefore, should at this time approach the Kaaba in the peaceful garb of pilgrims, the Coreish would be bound by every pledge of national faith to leave them unmolested. On the other hand, should their advance be opposed, the opprobrium would rest with the Coreish; and even in that case, the strength of the pilgrim band would secure its safety,—if not a decisive victory.

The surrounding tribes invited to join the pilgrimage, but most of them decline.

So soon as this course was resolved upon, the people of Medîna were invited to join the Prophet in the lesser pilgrimage, and all made haste to prepare themselves. To swell the camp and render it more imposing, the Arab tribes around, who had tendered their allegiance to Mahomet, were also summoned.* But few of them responded to the call; the most part alleged that their occupations and families prevented their leaving home.

Mahomet and his followers

Early in the month of Dzul Cada, in the sixth

* I see no reason for holding with M. C. de Perceval (v. iii. p. 175,) that any of those summoned were *heathen* tribes. On the contrary, those who declined the summons are all reprobated in terms implying that they had professed themselves at the disposal of Mahomet, and consequently were Moslems. *Sura* xlviii. v. 2; and it is added as a punishment that they would not be permitted to go on any subsequent expeditions in which plunder might be expected. v. 15. *et seq.* The commentators say that the Bani Aslam Joheina, Mozeina, and Ghifâr, are the tribes intended.

year of the Hegira, arrangements for the pilgrimage being completed, Mahomet entered his house, bathed himself, and put on the two pieces of cloth which constitute the covering of the pilgrim. He then mounted his camel, Al Caswa, and led the cavalcade, numbering about fifteen hundred men, across the valley Al Ackîck, to Dzul Huleifa, on the road to Mecca.* There they halted, and Mahomet with the rest entered the pilgrim state by repeatedly uttering the cry,—*Labbeik! Labbeik!* which signifies, "Here am I, O Lord!" or—"I am entering, Lord, upon thy service!"† The victims were then consecrated for sacrifice; their heads having been turned towards Mecca, the customary ornaments were hung about their necks, and a mark affixed upon their right sides. Seventy camels were thus devoted; amongst them was the famous camel of Abu Jahl, taken on the field of Badr. This done, the pilgrims moved forward by the ordinary stages. A troop of twenty horse marched

set out from Medina, Dzul Cada, A.H. VI. February, A.D. 628.

* The Secretary gives the number at sixteen hundred: but adds that some traditions say fourteen hundred, others fifteen hundred and twenty-five. Hishâmi says that one account gives the number at seven hundred; but that has evidently grown out of the fact that there were seventy camels, and that each camel was sacrificed for *ten* of the pilgrims. The remaining pilgrims had of course other animals, sheep, goats, &c. for sacrifice. *K. Wâckidi*, 118½; *Hishâmi*, 320.

† From this moment the pilgrim assumes the ceremonial state, and observes the abstinence enjoined in consequence, until the rites are ended and the victims slain, when the restrictions cease. See vol i. p. cev.; and *Sura* ii. 197, and xxii. 28.

in advance to give notice of danger. The pilgrims carried no arms but such as were allowed by custom to the traveller, namely, each a sheathed sword.* The Prophet took one of his wives, Omm Salma, with him.

Alarm of the Coreish, who arm themselves and oppose the advance of Mahomet.

Tidings of Mahomet's approach soon reached Mecca; and, notwithstanding the pious object and unwarlike attitude of the Medîna pilgrims, filled the Coreish with apprehension. They did not credit these peaceful professions; and, perhaps not without reason, suspected treachery. The citizens of Mecca, with their allies of the surrounding tribes, were soon under arms, and occupied a position on the Medîna road,† resolved to perish rather than allow the enemy to enter. A body of two hundred horsemen, under Khâlid and Ikrima,‡ was pushed forward in advance.

Mahomet leaves the direct road, and encamps at Al Hodeibia.

Mahomet had nearly reached Osfân,§ when a spy returned with this intelligence:—"The Coreish," he said, "are encamped at Dzu Towa, clothed in panther's skins;‖ their wives and little ones are with

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* Some add among "the travellers' weapons" a bow and a quiver full of arrows; but generally, the sword in its sheath alone is mentioned. Mahomet had a bow and quiver, as will be seen below.

† At Baldah بلدح The horse were posted at Karû al Ghamîm, the place Abu Bakr formerly advanced to. See p. 3, *note.*

‡ Son of Abu Jahl.

§ He had reached as far as a spot called Ghadîr al Ashtzâtz.

‖ Expressive symbolically of the fixed resolution of the Coreish to fight to the last, like beasts of prey.

them; and they have sworn to die rather than let thee pass." Shortly after, the Meccan cavalry came in sight, and Mahomet's horse went forward to hold them in check. Further advance on the high road was now evidently impossible, without a pitched battle; and for this Mahomet was not yet prepared. Having therefore halted and procured a guide, he turned off in the evening towards the right, and after a fatiguing march through rugged and difficult defiles, reached the open space called Al Hodeibia, on the verge of the sacred territory which encircles Mecca. Here his camel stopped, and planting her fore legs firmly on the ground, refused to advance another step. "She is wearied," said the people, as they urged her forward. "Nay," exclaimed Mahomet, "Al Caswa is not weary; but the same hand restraineth her that aforetime held back the elephant,"—alluding to the preservation of Mecca from the invasion of Abraha.* "By the Lord!" he continued, "no request of the Coreish this day, which they shall make for the honour of the holy place, shall be denied by me." So he alighted, and all the people with him, at Hodeibia. Some wells were on the spot, but having been choked by sand, there was

* See vol i. p. cclxvii. The inference intended is, that God was again interposing to prevent bloodshed and the devastation of Mecca, by staying the farther advance of Mahomet in the same supernatural manner as that by which he held back Abraha from advancing on the city. "The Elephant," the "Year of the Elephant," were used to designate the inroad of Abraha.

little or no water in them. Mahomet, accordingly, taking an arrow from his quiver (the only implement at hand), desired one of his followers to descend a well, and with it dig and scrape away the obstructing sand. Abundance of water soon accumulated.*

Negotiations between the Coreish and Mahomet.

The road through Hodeibia led by a circuitous route to Lower Mecca.† The Coreish no sooner learned that the pilgrims had taken this direction, than they fell back on the city for its defence, and began sending deputations to ascertain the real intentions of Mahomet. Hodeibia being only a short stage distant, the communications were rapid and frequent.‡ Bodeil, a chief of the Bani Khozâa, with a party of his tribe, was the first to approach. He acquainted Mahomet with the excited state of the Coreish, and their resolve to defend the city to the last extremity. The Prophet replied, that it was not for war he

* This has been magnified into a miracle. As soon as the arrow was *planted* in the hitherto empty well, the fountain gushed up, so rapidly that the people sitting on the brink could draw water at ease. By another account, Mahomet spat into the well, on which the spring immediately bubbled up. According to a third tradition, he thrust his hand into a vessel, on which the water poured forth as it were from between his fingers, and all drank therefrom:—"The stream would have sufficed for a hundred thousand people." *K. Wâckidi*, 118½, 119.

† It probably joined the Jedda road, some little distance from Mecca.

‡ The Secretary of Wâckidi (p. 118½), makes Hodeibia *nine* Arabian miles from Mecca. M. C. de Perceval makes it twelve hours: vol iii. 177: but it can hardly have been so far.

had come forth. "I have no other design," he said, "but to perform the pilgrimage of the holy house: and whosoever hindereth us therefrom, we shall fight against them." Orwa, a chief from Tâyif, connected with the Coreish, was the next ambassador. He came, saying "that the people of Mecca were desperate. They will not suffer this rabble of thine to approach the city. I swear that even now I see thee as it were, by the morrow deserted of them all." At this Abu Bakr started up and warmly resented the imputation. Orwa, not heeding him, became still more earnest in his speech, and (according to the familiar Bedouin custom) stretched forth his hand to take hold of Mahomet's beard. "Back!" cried a bystander, striking his arm. "Hold off thy hands from the Prophet of God!" "And who is this?" said Orwa, surprised at the interposition of the youth. "It is thy brother's son, Moghîra." "O ungrateful!" he exclaimed (alluding to his having paid compensation for certain murders committed by his nephew), "it is but as yesterday that I redeemed thy life." These and other circumstances which transpired at the interview, struck Orwa with a deep sense of the reverence and devotion of the Moslems towards their Prophet; and this he endeavoured to impress upon the Coreish, when he carried back to them a message similar to that of Bodeil.* But the Coreish were firm. Whatever his

* Orwa had married Abu Sofiân's daughter. There were frequent intermarriages between the inhabitants of Tâyif and Mecca.

intentions, Mahomet should not approach the city with the show of force, and thus humble them in the eyes of all Arabia. "Tell him," they said, "that this year he must go back; but in the year following, he may enter Mecca and perform the pilgrimage." One of their messengers was Jalîs, chief of the Arab tribes that dwelt around Mecca. The goodly row of victims, with their sacrificial ornaments, and the marks upon their necks of having been long tied up for this pious object, at once convinced him of the sincerity of Mahomet's peaceful professions. But the Coreish, on his return, refused to listen to him. "Thou art a simple Arab of the desert," they said, "and knowest not the devices of other men." Jalîs was enraged at this slight, and swore that if they continued to oppose the advance of Mahomet to the Kaaba, he would

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Orwa was rough of speech: his dialogue with Mahomet and his followers is given with great detail and vividness by Hishâmi, p. 323. He told the Coreish that he had seen many kings,—the Chosroes, the Caysar, the Najâshi, &c., but never had witnessed such attention and homage as Mahomet received from his followers;—they rushed to save the water in which he had performed his ablutions, to catch up his spittle, or seize a hair of his if it chanced to fall. But these are all fabrications of later days,—the intense veneration of which was reflected back upon this period, vol i. *Introd.* pp. xxix. and lxiii. There is no reason to believe that there was any such abject worship of Mahomet during his lifetime.

Orwa, however, saw enough to convince him of the extraordinary influence which Mahomet had gained over his followers; and what he saw perhaps contributed to his own conversion. We shall find him in the end a martyr of Islam.

retire with all his Arabs. The threat alarmed the Coreish. "Have patience for a little while," they said, "until we can make such terms as are needful for our security." Negotiations were then opened in greater earnest.

Deputation of Othmân to the Coreish.

The first messenger from the Moslem camp to Mecca, a convert from the Bani Khozâa, the Coreish had seized and treated roughly; they maimed the Prophet's camel on which he rode, and even threatened his life.* But the feeling was now more pacific, and Mahomet desired Omar to proceed to Mecca as his ambassador. Omar excused himself on account of the personal enmity of the Coreish towards him; he had, moreover, no influential relatives in the city who could shield him from danger; and he pointed to Othmân as a fitter envoy. Othmân consented, and was at once despatched. On entering Mecca, he received the protection of a cousin, and went straightway to Abu Sofiân and the other chiefs of the Coreish. "We come," said Othmân, "to visit the holy house, to honour it, and to perform worship there. We have brought victims with us, and after slaying them we shall then depart in peace." They replied that Othmân, if he chose, might visit the Kaaba and worship there; but as for Mahomet, they had sworn that this year he should not enter the

* Hishâmi also says that a party of forty or fifty Coreish went round about Mahomet's camp, seeking to cut off any stray followers; and that having attacked the camp itself with stones and arrows, they were caught and taken to Mahomet, who pardoned and released them. The Secretary has nothing of this.

precincts of their city. Othmân declined the offer, and returned with their message to the camp.

The Pledge of the Tree, in consequence of the report of the murder of Othmân, who had been sent as ambassador to Mecca.

Meanwhile, during the absence of Othmân, there had been great excitement at Hodeibia. Some delay having occurred in his return, a report gained currency that he had been murdered at Mecca.* Anxiety and alarm overspread the camp. Mahomet himself began to suspect treachery: he summoned the whole company of the pilgrims around him, and taking his stand under the thick shade of an acacia, required a pledge from each of faithful service even to death. When all had thus sworn, striking one by one their hand upon the hand of Mahomet, the Prophet struck his own left hand upon his right, as a pledge that he would stand by his absent son-in-law. While war and revenge thus breathed throughout the pilgrim camp, their fears were suddenly relieved by the reappearance of Othmân. But "the pledge of the tree" is a scene to which Mahomet, and all who were then present, ever after loved to revert; for here the strong feelings of devotion and sympathy between the Prophet and his followers had found a fitting and ardent expression.† Their martial spirit and religious fervour

* Hishâmi says that Othmân was actually placed in confinement at Mecca. But this is not stated by the Secretary; and it does not appear that his return was so long delayed as to render this probable.

† It is called "the oath of good pleasure;"—بيعة الرضوان *i.e.* well pleasing to the Lord, referring to Sura xlviii. 17, which will be quoted below.

had been excited to the highest pitch; and they were prepared to rush upon their enemy with a resistless onset. It was one of those romantic occasions which lives in the memory of an Arab.

The Treaty between Mahomet and the Coreish.

After some farther interchange of messages, the Coreish deputed one of their chiefs, Soheil ibn Amr, and other representatives, with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace. The conference was long, and the discussion warm. But at last the terms were settled. Mahomet summoned Ali to write them from his dictation. And thus he began:—

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, MOST GRACIOUS AND MERCIFUL!"—"Stop!" said Soheil. "As for God, we know him; but this new title of the Deity, we know it not. Say, as we have always said, *In thy name, O God!*" Mahomet yielded. "Write," he said,—

"IN THY NAME, O GOD! *These are the conditions of peace between Mahomet the Prophet of God, and of Soheil, son of*"—"Stop again!" interposed Soheil. "If I acknowledged thee to be the Prophet of God, I had not taken up arms against thee. Write, as the custom is, thine own name and the name of thy father."* "Write then," continued Mahomet calmly, —"*between Mahomet the son of Abdallah, and Soheil the son of Amr.* War shall be suspended for ten years. Neither side shall attack the other. Perfect

* The second interruption by Soheil is not mentioned by the Secretary.

amity shall prevail betwixt us. Whosoever wisheth to join Mahomet, and enter into treaty with him, shall have liberty to do so; and whoever wisheth to join the Coreish, and enter into treaty with them, shall have liberty so to do. If any one goeth over to Mahomet, without the permission of his guardian, he shall be sent back to his guardian. But, if any one from amongst the followers of Mahomet return to the Coreish, the same shall not be sent back. Provided,—on the part of the Coreish,—that Mahomet and his followers retire from us this year without entering our city. In the coming year, he may visit Mecca, he and his followers, for three days, when we shall retire therefrom. But they may not enter it with any weapons, save those of the traveller, namely, to each a sheathed sword.* *The witnesses hereof are Abu Bakr," &c.*†

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* I have mainly followed the Secretary of Wâckidi, p. 119; his version is the same in substance as that of Hishâmi, p. 326; it differs, however, in one or two important points, in the *arrangement* of the clauses. It is clear from this that no copy of the treaty was preserved, but that the contents have been handed down by oral tradition. There is a separate tradition given by the Secretary (p. 119½) to this effect:—"And Mahomet wrote (كتب) at the foot of the treaty, *The same shall be incumbent upon you towards us, as is incumbent upon us towards you.*"

† Here follow eight other names, viz,—Omar, Abd al Rahmân, Sâd ibn Abi Wackkâs, Othmân, Abu Obeida, Muhammad ibn Maslama, Huweitib ibn Abd al Ozza, Mukriz ibn Hafaz (the two last belonged to the Coreishite party, see Hishâmi, p. 347), and below all followed this sentence:—"The upper part of this was written by Ali" (meaning probably the text of the treaty above the signatures.) *Wâckidi*, 119.

A copy of this important document, duly attested, was made over to Soheil and his comrades, who then took their departure. The original was kept by Mahomet himself.

The deputies of the Coreish depart.

Though unable to enter Mecca, Mahomet resolved to complete such ceremonies of the pilgrimage as the nature of the spot admitted of. So he sacrificed the victims and concluded the solemnity by shaving his head. The rest of the pilgrims having followed his example,* the whole assembly broke up, and began their march homewards.†

Mahomet and his followers sacrifice their victims.

The people, led by the Vision to anticipate an unopposed visit to the Kaaba, were disappointed at this imperfect fulfilment of the Pilgrimage, and crestfallen at the abortive result of their long journey. But, in truth, a great step had been gained by Mahomet. His political status, as an equal and independent Power, was acknowledged by the treaty: the ten years' truce would afford opportunity and time for the new Religion to expand, and to force its claims upon the conviction of the Coreish; while

Although the people were disappointed, the Treaty gave to Mahomet great political advantages.

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* Some *cut* their hair instead of shaving it. There is a great array of tradition to prove that Mahomet blessed the "Cutters," as well as the "Shavers," of their hair.

Among the miracles mentioned on the occasion is this, "that the Lord sent a strong wind and swept the hair of the Pilgrims into the sacred Territory," which was within a stone's throw of the camp;—thus signifying acceptance of the rite, notwithstanding its performance on common ground. *K. Wâckidi*, 120½.

† Mahomet's detention at Hodeibia is said by some to have lasted *ten*, by others *twenty* days. *K. Wâckidi*, 119.

conquest, political and spiritual, might be pursued unshackled in other directions. The stipulation that no one under the protection of a guardian should leave the Coreish without his guardian's consent, was in accordance with the settled principles of Meccan society; and the Prophet had sufficient confidence in the loyalty of his people, and the superior attractions of his cause, to fear no ill effect from the counter clause, that none should be delivered up who might desert his own standard. Above all, the great and patent success in the negotiation was the free permission accorded to Mahomet and his people to visit Mecca in the following year, and for three days to occupy the city undisturbed. A Revelation was accordingly produced, to place in a clear light this view of the treaty, and to raise the drooping spirits of the pilgrims. At the close of the first march, the people might be seen hurrying across the plain, urging their camels from all directions, and crowding round the Prophet. "Inspiration hath descended on him," passed from mouth to mouth throughout the camp. Standing on his camel, Mahomet began his address with the opening words of the Forty-eighth Sura:—

In the Coran it is styled a *victory*.

"Verily WE have given unto thee an evident Victory;—

"That God may pardon thee the Sin that is past and that is to come, and fulfil his Favour upon thee, and lead thee in the right way;—

"And that God may assist thee with a glorious assistance."

Nature and effects of the "Victory."

This *Victory* has puzzled many of the commentators, who seek to apply it to other occasions; but

all their applications are far-fetched and untenable.* When the passage was ended, it is said that a by-stander inquired, "What! is *this* the Victory?"—"Yea," Mahomet replied, "by Him that holdeth in His hand my breath, it is a Victory." Another reminded him of the promise that they should enter into Mecca unmolested. "True; the Lord hath promised that indeed," said the Prophet, "but when did He promise that it should be in the present year?" The comments of Zohri (though somewhat exaggerated) are very much to the purpose.† "There was no previous Victory," he says, "in Islam, greater than this. On all other occasions there was fighting: but here War was laid aside, tranquillity and peace restored; the one party henceforward met and conversed freely with the other, and there was no man of sense or judgment amongst the idolaters who was not led thereby to join Islam. And truly in the two years that followed, as many persons entered the Faith as there belonged to it altogether before, or even a greater number."—"And the proof of this," adds Ibn Hishâm, "is that, whereas Mahomet went forth to Hodeibia with only fourteen hundred (or fifteen hundred) men, he was followed two years later, in the attack on Mecca, by ten thousand."‡

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* As for instance, the conquest of Kheibar, of Mecca, &c. In vv. 18—21, it is true that such future victories are promised. But the words here are descriptive of an event already passed.

† *Hishâmi*, p. 331.

‡ *Ibid.* 328. The truth is, that men looked back upon this treaty

The Bedouins denounced for not joining the pilgrimage.

In the Sura of which I have just quoted the opening verses, the Arab tribes which neglected the summons to go forth with Mahomet to the pilgrimage are severely reprimanded; and (the severest punishment for on Arab) they are forbidden to join the true believers in any future marauding excursion.*

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in the light of subsequent events. It appeared strange that he who, in less than two years was supreme dictator at Mecca, could be now suing for permission to enter that city, and that he was not only satisfied with these scanty terms, but could even call them a "Victory." His present weakness was overlooked in the consideration of later triumphs. Hence the vaunting speech put into Omar's mouth, that "had these terms been fixed by any other than by Mahomet himself,—even by a commander of his appointment, he would have scorned to listen to them;" *K. Wâckidi*, 120; and the indignant conversation he is said to have held with Abu Bakr:—"What! Is not Mahomet the Prophet of God? Are we not Moslems? Are not they Infidels? Why then is our divine religion to be thus lowered?" &c. *Hishâmi*, 325. Hence also the alleged unwillingness of the people to kill their victims at Hodeibia; for, says Hishâmi, they were like men dying of vexation. p. 326.

* Not to swell the text unreasonably with quotations, I transcribe the passage in this note:—

"The Arabs who stayed behind will say to thee,—*Our Possessions and our Families engaged us; wherefore thou ask Pardon for us.* They say that with their tongues which is not in their hearts;—say;—And who could procure for you any (other) thing from God, if he intended against you Evil,—or if he intended for you Good. Verily God is acquainted with that which ye do.

"Truly ye thought that the Apostle and the Believers would not return to their Families again for ever; this thought was decked out in your Hearts; ye imagined an evil Imagination; and ye are a corrupt People.* *

"Those that stayed behind will say when ye go forth to seize the Spoil, *Suffer us to follow you.* They seek to change the word of God. Say;—*Ye shall not follow us!* for thus hath God already spoken. And they will say;—*Nay but ye grudge us* (a share in the Booty). By no means. They are a People that understandeth little.

The pilgrims who took the solemn oath under the tree are in the same Sura applauded for their faithfulness; it was the hand of God himself, not the hand of his Apostle merely, which was upon theirs when the pledge was given;* Victory and great spoil shall be their reward :—

"Verily God was well pleased with the Believers, when they pledged themselves to Thee under the tree. He knew what was in their hearts, and he caused Tranquillity† to descend upon them, and granted them a speedy Victory;— Notices of this expedition in the xlviii. Sura.

"And Spoils in abundance, which they shall take;‡ and God is Glorious and Wise.

"God hath promised you great Spoil, which ye shall seize; and He hath sent this (Truce) beforehand.§ He hath restrained the

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"Say unto the Arabs that stayed behind, Ye shall hereafter be called out against a People of great might in war, with whom ye shall fight, or else they shall profess Islam. Then if ye obey, God will give you a fair Reward; but if ye turn back as ye have turned back heretofore, he shall chastise you with a grievous chastisement." *Sura* xlviii. 11, *et seq.*

The meaning apparently is that these Arabs would first have to prove themselves in real and severe fighting (perhaps in Syria or elsewhere) before they were again allowed to join in easy expeditions for booty.

* v. 10.

† Sekîna, or Shechina, *i.e.* Divine influence overshadowing the heart.

‡ This may allude to the promise of future spoils. Mahomet had no doubt Kheibar, and other expeditions northward, in his mind's eye at the moment: the prospect is also intended to aggravate the grief of the Arabs at the loss of so fine a prize.

If any portion of these or the following verses are to be construed in the past tense as booty already granted, we must suppose them to have been revealed after the conquest of Kheibar, and then placed in their present context. But this supposition I do not think necessary.

§ That is, cleared the way for victories by this preparatory truce.

hands of men from you, that it may be a sign unto the Believers, and that He may guide you into the right way.

"And yet other (Spoils are prepared for you), over which ye have (now) no power. But God hath encompassed them; for God is over all things Powerful.

"If the Unbelievers had fought against you, verily they had turned their backs. * * *

"It is God that restrained their hands from you, and your hands from them, in the Valley of Mecca, after he had already made you superior to them;* and God observed that which ye did.

"These are they which disbelieve, which hindered you from visiting the holy Temple; and (hindered) the Victims also,—which were kept back, so that they reached not their destination.

"And had it not been for believing men, and believing women, whom ye know not, and whom ye might have trampled upon, and blame might on their account unwittingly have fallen on you (God had not held thee back from entering Mecca; but he did so) that God might cause such as He pleaseth to enter into his Mercy. If these had been separable, verily we had punished those of them† (the inabitants of Mecca) that disbelieve, with a grievous Punishment.

"When the Unbelievers raised scruples in their own hearts,—

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*. Or, "given you the victory over them." This is by some referred to the body of forty or fifty Coreish said to have been captured in their attempt to do mischief to the pilgrim camp, and who were liberated by Mahomet. See above, note p. 31. But even if that incident were certain, the mention of it would be here irrelevant, the words refer generally to the alleged superiority in the negotiations, which it was Mahomet's interest and object to assume throughout.

† *i.e.* those of the Coreish. Mahomet would here make it appear that there were numerous Believers in his mission at Mecca unknown to him, and that God held him back from attacking Mecca lest these should have been involved in the common destruction.

the scruples of Ignorance,*—then God sent down Tranquillity upon His Apostle, and upon the Believers, and fixed in them the word of Piety;† and they were the best entitled to it, and worthy of the same;—for God comprehendeth all things.

"Now hath God verified unto His Apostle the Vision in truth;—Ye shall surely enter the Holy Temple, if it please God, in security, having your heads shaven and your hair cut. Fear ye not: for he knoweth that which ye know not. And he hath appointed for you after this, a speedy Victory besides.

"It is He who hath sent His Apostle with Guidance, and the true Religion,—that he may exalt it above every other."‡

The Bani Khozâa join alliance with Mahomet; the Bani Bakr with the Coreish.

One of the first political effects of the Treaty was that the Bani Khozâa, who had from the first shown favour to the new faith,§ entered immediately into open alliance with Mahomet. The Bani Bakr, another tribe resident in the vicinity of Mecca, adhered to the Coreish.

The son of Soheil given up by Mahomet.

The stipulation for the surrender of converts at the instance of their guardians, was soon illustrated by one or two peculiar incidents. The son of Soheil, himself the representative of the Coreish, appeared at Hodeibia, just as the Treaty was concluded, and desired to follow Mahomet. But his father claimed

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* Alluding to their having objected to the use of the epithets of the Deity, &c. at the beginning of the treaty.

† *i.e.* the right profession of faith, which ought to have been in the treaty. All this is a sort of apology for having yielded to Soheil.

‡ *Sura*, xlviii. 18-28.

§ See vol. i. p. cclxii. They had of old been closely connected with the branch of Abdal Muttalib, as distinct from that of Omeya.

him, and although the lad earnestly remonstrated, the claim was admitted. "Have patience, Abu Jandal!" said Mahomet to him,—"put thy trust in the Lord. He will work out for thee, and for others like thee, a way of deliverance."*

Abu Basîr gathers a band of marauders, and harasses the Coreish.

Some little time after the return of Mahomet, Abu Basîr, a young convert, effected his escape from Mecca, and appeared at Medîna. His guardians sent two servants with a letter to Mahomet, and instructions to bring the deserter back to his home. The obligation of surrender was at once admitted by Mahomet, and Abu Basîr set out for Mecca. But he had travelled only a few miles, when he treacherously seized the sword of one of his conductors, and slew him. The other servant fled back to Medîna; Abu Basîr himself followed with the naked sword in his hand, reeking with blood. Both soon reached the presence of Mahomet; the servant to complain of the murder, Abu Basîr to plead for his freedom. The youth contended that as the Prophet

* The story is told by tradition with much over-colouring. Abu Jandal came up just as the treaty was completed, having escaped from Mecca *in his chains*. His father beat him and dragged him away. He screamed aloud to the Moslems to save him: but Mahomet said that he could not diverge from the terms of the treaty just concluded. Omar walked by the lad as he was being led back, and comforted him with such ideas as these:—"The blood of these infidels is no better than the blood of dogs." The whole story is so exaggerated, that it is difficult to say what degree of truth there is in it. But I think it must have had *some* foundation in fact.

had once fulfilled the letter of the Treaty in delivering him up, he was now free to remain behind. Mahomet gave no direct reply. His answer was enigmatical: after an exclamation in praise of his bravery,* he added in a voice of admiration:— "*What a kindler of War, if he had but with him a body of adherents!*" Thus encouraged, Abu Basîr quitted Medîna and went to Al Is, by the sea shore, on the caravan road to Syria. The words of Mahomet were not long in becoming known at Mecca, and the restless youths of the Coreish, receiving them as a suggestion to follow the same example, set out to join Abu Basîr, who was soon surrounded with about seventy followers desperate as himself. They waylaid every caravan from Mecca (for since the truce, traffic with Syria had again sprung up), and spared the life of no one. The Coreish were at length so harassed by these attacks, that they solicited the interference of Mahomet; and, on condition that the outrages were stopped, waived their claim to have the deserters delivered up. Mahomet acceded to the request, and summoned the marauders to Medîna, where they took up their abode.†

Mahomet's support of him in con-

It seems obvious to remark that, however much Mahomet may have been within the letter of the

* "Alas for his mother!" signifying that his bravery would likely lead him to be killed in some daring conflict.

† The story of Abu Basîr is not given by the secretary.

travention of the spirit of the Treaty.

truce in this proceeding, the encouragement held out by him to Abu Basîr and his comrades, in their hostility to the Coreish, was a breach of its spirit. Abu Basîr professed himself an adherent of Islam, and, as such, implicitly subservient to the commands of the Prophet. To incite him, therefore, to a course of plunder and rapine, was a virtual contravention of the engagement to promote amity and peace.

Rule as to women who fled from Mecca to Medina.

The stipulation for the surrender of deserters made no distinction as to sex. A female having fled to Medîna, whose guardians were at Mecca, her brothers followed her, and demanded her restoration under the terms of truce. Mahomet demurred. The Divine Oracle was called in, and it gave judgment in favour of the woman. All women who came over to Medîna, were to be "tried," and if their profession was found sincere, they were to be retained. The unbelief of their husbands dissolved the previous marriage; they now might legally contract fresh nuptials with believers, provided only that restitution were made of any sums expended by their former husbands as dower upon them. The marriage bond was similarly annulled between believers and their unbelieving wives who had remained behind at Mecca;—and their dowers might be reckoned in adjusting the payments due to the Coreish on account of the women retained at Medîna. Though the rule is thus laid down at length in the Coran,

but few cases of the kind are cited by tradition.*

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* *Hishâmi*, p. 330. The woman there mentioned as coming over to Medîna was daughter of Ocba, so cruelly executed by Mahomet after Badr. See vol. iii. p. 116. Another similar refugee is noticed by M. C. de Perceval as married to Omar (iii. 187). On the other hand, Omar divorced Coreina, his wife, who remained at Mecca, and who was then married by Abu Sofiân. Another similar case is cited by *Hishâmi*, 330.

The rule is given in the Sixtieth Sura. It opens with strong remonstrances against making friends of Unbelievers; for Mahomet probably found that his people were, since the truce, becoming too intimate with the Meccans, and feared lest the tendency of such friendships would relax the discipline and *esprit de corps* of Islam.

Then follows the passage regarding the women :—

"O ye that believe! When believing women come over unto you as Refugees, then try them ; God well knoweth their faith. And if ye know them to be believers, return them not again unto the infidels ; they are not lawful (as wives) unto the infidels; neither are the infidels lawful (as husbands) unto them. But give unto them (the infidels) what they may have expended (on their dowers). It is no sin for you that ye marry them, after that ye shall have given them (the women) their dowers.

"And retain not the (honour *or*) patronage of the unbelieving women ; but demand back that which ye have spent (in their dowers); and let the infidels demand back what they have spent (on the women which come over to you).

"This is the judgment of God, which he establisheth between you ; and God is knowing and wise.

"And if any of your wives escape from you unto the infidels, and ye have your turn (by the elopement of their wives unto you), then give to those whose wives have gone (out of the dower of the latter) a sum equal to that which they have expended (on the dowers of the former) ; and fear God in whom ye believe.

"O Prophet! When believing Women come unto thee, and plight their faith unto thee that they will not associate any with God, that they will not steal, neither commit adultery, that they

Mahomet's dream of universal submission to Islam.

The pilgrimage to Hodeibia is the last event of importance which occurred in the Sixth year of Mahomet's residence at Medîna. But towards its close a new and singular project occupied his attention. It was nothing less than to summon the sovereigns of the surrounding States and Empires to his allegiance! The principles of Mahomet had been slowly but surely tending towards the universal imposition of his faith. Wherever his arms had reached, the recognition of his Divine mission, and of his spiritual authority as the Apostle of God, was peremptorily required. An exception indeed was made in favour of Jews and Christians; but even these, if they retained their faith, must pay tribute, as an admission of its inferiority. It may seem a chimerical and wild design in the Prophet of

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will not kill their children, nor promulgate a calumny forged between their hands and their feet, and that they will not be disobedient unto thee in that which is reasonable,—then pledge thy faith unto them, and seek pardon of God for them. For God is Gracious and Merciful." *Sura*, lx. 10-12.

Stanley on Corinthians (1 Cor. vii. 1-40) quotes the above passage, and says that the rule it contains "resembles that of the Apostle." Vol. i. p. 145. But there is reall yno analogy between them; the gospel rule differs *toto cœlo* from that of Mahomet:—"If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away."—And similarly the case of a believing wife with an unbelieving husband (1 Cor. vii. 12-16). Whereas Mahomet declares the marriage bond *de facto* annulled by the unbelief of either party, which indeed was only to be expected from his loose ideas regarding the marriage contract.

Medîna,—scarcely able as he was to maintain his own position, helplessly besieged twelve months before, and forced but lately to retire from Mecca with his purpose of pilgrimage unaccomplished,—that he should dream of supremacy, either spiritual or political, over Egypt, Abyssinia, and Syria, nay over the Roman and Persian Empires. But so it was. Besides the stedfast and lofty conviction which he had of his duty and mission as the Apostle of God, it is not to be supposed that a person so sagacious and discerning should have failed to perceive in the signs of the times a grand opportunity of success. The Roman Empire was broken and wearied by successive shocks of barbarous invasion: and together with the Kingdom of Persia it had been wasted by a long and devastating war. Schism had rent and paralyzed the Christian Church. The Melchites and the Jacobites, the Monothelites and the Nestorians, regarded each other with a deadly hatred, and were ready to welcome any intruder that would rid them of their adversaries. The new faith would sweep away all the sophistries about which they vainly contended: holding fast the substratum of previous Revelation, it substituted a reformed and universal religion for the effete and erring systems which the priesthood had introduced. The claims of truth, enforced by the army of God, would surely conquer. Such perhaps were the thoughts of Mahomet, when he determined to send

embassies to the Cæsar and the Chosroes, to Abyssinia, Egypt, Syria and Yemâma.*

Seal engraved and despatches prepared for foreign princes.

It was suggested by one of his followers that the kings of the earth did not receive despatches, unless they were attested by a seal. Accordingly Mahomet had a seal made of silver, and engraved with the words MAHOMET THE APOSTLE OF GOD.† Letters were written and sealed, and the six messengers simultaneously despatched to their various destinations, on the opening of the new year, as shall be farther related in the following chapter.‡

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* *Weil* (p. 190) thinks that the good treatment of the Refugees by the Najâshy (Abyssinian Prince) may have suggested the idea. But Mahomet's views had evidently, by degrees, been taking a wider range, independently of that circumstance.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 49½ : see vol. i. p. lxxvii.

‡ It is pretended that his messengers, "like the Apostles of Jesus," were immediately endowed with the faculty of speaking the language of the country to which they were deputed. *K. Wâckidi*, 51. But Mahomet evidently selected for the purpose men who, as travellers, merchants, or otherwise, had before visited the respective countries. So Dehya was sent to Syria. See above, p. 10.

Less trustworthy authorities make these embassies to have started from Medîna, on various dates. But Wâckidi's secretary states distinctly that all set out *on the same day*, in Moharram, A.H. VII. *K. Wâckidi*, 49½.

In one place (p. 39½) the Secretary says that the embassy to Abyssinia started on the 1st Rabi, *i. e.* two months later than the date above given. The discrepancy may perhaps be accounted for by supposing that the original tradition placed the date seven years after the Hegira of Mahomet;—one set of traditionists counting from the nominal opening of the Hegira era (Moharram), the other from the *actual arrival* of Mahomet in Medîna, two months later. See vol. ii. p. 261.

CHAPTER TWENTIETH.

Embassies to various Sovereigns and Princes.

A.H. VII. A.D. 627.

A BRIEF glance at the state of the Roman and Persian Empires may now be necessary, to connect the salient points of their external history with the career of Mahomet. Glance at the state of the Roman and Persian empires.

From a period as far back as his assumption by Mahomet of the Prophetic office, the two kingdoms had been waging with each other a ceaseless and deadly warfare. Until the year 621 A.D. unvarying success attended the Persian arms. Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, were overrun. Constantinople itself was threatened. At last, Heraclius awoke from his inglorious lethargy. About the time of Mahomet's flight from Mecca, the Roman Emperor was driving his invaders from their fastnesses in Asia Minor. In the second campaign he carried the war into the heart of Persia; during the three years in which, by this brilliant stroke, he was retrieving the fortunes of the Empire, Mahomet was engaged in his doubtful struggle with the Coreish. Then came the critical siege of Constantinople by the Avars and Persians, which preceded, by little more than half a Struggles between the Roman empire and Persia, A.D. 609–627. A.D. 622. A.H. I. A.D. 623–625. A.H. II.–IV. July, 626.

year, the siege of Medina, known as the battle of
March, 627. the Ditch. It is curious to remark that, while the Moslems attributed the sudden departure of Abu Sofiân and his Arab hosts, to the special interposition of the Almighty, the Romans equally ascribed their signal deliverance from the hordes of the
A.D. 627. A.H. VI. Chagan, to the favour of the Virgin. In the third campaign, Heraclius followed up his previous success, and on the 1st December, 627, achieved the decisive victory of Nineveh. In this action the forces of Persia were irretrievably broken and dispersed. On the 29th of that month, the Chosroes fled from his capital. Before the close
Feb. March, 628. of February, 628, he was murdered by his son
Dzul Cáda, VI. Siroes, who ascended the throne, and concluded a treaty of peace with the Emperor. About the same epoch, Mahomet was at Hodeibia, ratifying his truce with the chiefs of Mecca.

I. Despatch of Mahomet to Heraclius. A.D. 628. A.H. VII. In the autumn of this year, Heraclius fulfilled his vow of thanksgiving for the wonderful success which had crowned his arms; he performed on foot the pilgrimage from Edessa to Jerusalem, where the "true cross," recovered from the Persians, was with solemnity and pomp restored to the Holy Sepulchre.* While preparing for this journey, or during the

* The note by Weil, No. 309, p. 198, on the chronology of this journey, appears to me clearly to fix it in August, 628, and not (as usually placed) in the spring of 629. I refer the reader to that note, as, having no fresh authorities available for research, I could only recapitulate the arguments of Weil.

journey itself, an uncouth despatch, in the Arabic character, was laid before Heraclius. It was forwarded by the Governor of Bostra, into whose hands it had been delivered by an Arab chief. The epistle was addressed to the Emperor himself, from "Mahomet the Apostle of God," the rude impression of whose seal could be deciphered at the foot. In strange and simple accents, like those of the Prophets of old, it summoned Heraclius to acknowledge the mission of Mahomet, to cast aside the idolatrous worship of Jesus and his Mother, and to return to the Catholic faith of the one only God.* The letter

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Arab writers, in order to give sufficient time for the *miraculous* intimation by Mahomet of the death of Chosroes, place that event on the 13th of the first Jumâd, A.H. VII., or 21st August 628. But the details of the Greek historians, and the despatch of Heraclius to the senate of Constantinople, inserted in the *Chronicon Paschale*, leave no doubt as to the dates in the text.

Supposing the embassies to have started from Medîna during the 1st Rabî (see the last note in the preceding chapter), *i.e.* in June or July, the despatch would reach Heraclius on his journey, as represented by tradition. If we take the earlier date of Moharram (April, May,) for their despatch, it is open for us to suppose some delay on the road.

* The terms of the despatches are quite uncertain. The draughts of them given by tradition, with the replies, are apocryphal. (*But see below as to the Egyptian Despatch.*) The ordinary copy of the letter to Heraclius contains a passage from the Coran which, as Weil shows, was not given forth till the ninth year of the Hegira (note, No. 309.) The passage was apparently inserted by the Traditionists as being a probable and an appropriate address from their Prophet to a Christian king.

Dehya, the bearer of this despatch, was desired by Mahomet to forward it through the governor of Bostra. *K. Wâckidi*, p. 50.

was probably cast aside, or preserved, it may be, as a strange curiosity, the effusion of some harmless fanatic.*

II. Despatch to the Ghassânide Prince.

Not long after, another despatch, bearing the same seal, and couched in similar terms, reached the court of Heraclius. It was addressed to Hârith seventh, son of Abu Shammir, Prince of the Bani Ghassân,† who forwarded it to the Emperor, with an address from himself, soliciting permission to chastise the audacious impostor.‡ But Heraclius,

* Tradition of course has another story. "Now the Emperor was at this time at Hims, performing a pedestrian journey, in fulfilment of the vow which he had made that, if the Romans overcame the Persians, he would travel on foot from Constantinople to Aelia (Jerusalem). So having read the letter, he commanded his chief men to meet him in the royal camp at Hims. And thus he addressed them:—"Ye chiefs of Rome! Do ye desire safety and guidance, so that your kingdom shall be firmly established, and that ye may follow the commands of Jesus, son of Mary?" "And what, O King! shall secure us this?" —"Even that ye follow the Arabian Prophet," said Heraclius. Whereupon they all started aside like wild asses of the desert, each raising his cross and waving it aloft in the air. Whereupon, Heraclius, despairing of their conversion, and unwilling to lose his kingdom, desisted, saying that he had only wished to test their constancy and faith, and that he was now satisfied and rejoiced by this display of firmness and devotion. The courtiers bowed their heads; and so the Prophet's despatch was rejected." *K. Wáckidi*, p. 50.

† See vol. i. p. clxxxviii.

‡ Tradition tells us that the messenger of Mahomet found Hârith in the gardens of Damascus, busied with preparations for the reception of the Emperor, who was shortly expected there on his way to Jerusalem. He waited at the gate of Hârith three or four days,

regarding the ominous voice from Arabia beneath his notice, forbade the expedition, and desired that Hârith should be in attendance at Jerusalem, to swell the imperial train at the approaching visitation of the Temple. Little did the Emperor imagine that the kingdom which, unperceived by the world, the obscure Pretender was founding in Arabia, would in a few short years wrest from his grasp that Holy City and the fair provinces which, with so much toil, and so much glory, he had just recovered from the Persians!

III. Despatch to the king of Persia.

The despatch for the king of Persia reached the court probably some months after the accession of Siroes. It was delivered to the Monarch, who, on hearing the contents, tore it in pieces. When this was reported to Mahomet, he prayed, and said:—

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as audiences were granted only at certain intervals. During this delay, he communicated to the Porter information about Mahomet and his doctrine. The Porter wept and said, "I read the Gospel, and I find therein the description of this Prophet exactly as thou tellest me:" thereupon he embraced Islam, and sent his salutation to the Prophet. The story is in the stereotyped form of traditional fabrication.

On a set day, Hârith, sitting in state, called for the messenger, and had the Despatch read. Then he cast it aside and said,—"Who is he that will snatch my kingdom from me? I will march against him, were he even in Yemen." He became very angry, and having called out his army in battle array, said to the messenger,—"Go, tell thy master that which thou seest." The messenger, however, was afterwards permitted to wait for the reply of Heraclius: on its receipt, Hârith dismissed him with a present of one hundred mithcals of gold. When the messenger reported what had passed,

"Even thus, O Lord! rend thou his kingdom from him!"*

Conversion of Bâdzân, governor of Yemen. End of A.H. VI. Beginning of A.D. 628.

Connected with the court of Persia, but of date somewhat earlier than this despatch, is a remarkable incident, which was followed by results of considerable importance. A few months before his overthrow, Chosroes, receiving strange reports of the prophetical claims of Mahomet, and of the depredations committed on the Syrian border by his marauding bands, sent orders to Bâdzân, the Persian governor of Yemen, to despatch two trusty men to Medîna, and procure for him certain information regarding the Pretender. Bâdzân obeyed, and with the messengers sent a courteous despatch to Mahomet. By the time they arrived at Medîna, tidings had reached the Prophet of the deposition and death of Chosroes. When the despatch, therefore, was read before him, he smiled at its contents, and summoned the ambas-

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the Prophet said that the kingdom had departed from Hârith; and so Hârith died the following year. *K. Wâckidi*, 50½.

* Tradition makes all this apply to Chosroes, whose deposition is accordingly postponed till the first Jumâd, or August. But the dates are clear; Chosroes died six months before;—see note, above, p. 50.

We must either adopt the version in the text, with the reception of the despatch by Siroes, and not by Chosroes; or suppose the embassy to have been despatched previous to the expedition of Hodeibia. And it is far less likely that tradition should be mistaken as to the chronology of the departure of the messengers from Medîna, than as to the chronology and history of the distant court of Persia.

sadors to embrace Islam. He then apprised them of the murder of Chosroes, and the accession of his son;—"Go," said he, "inform your master of this, and require him to tender his submission to the Prophet of the Lord." The glory of Persia had now departed. She had long ago relaxed her grasp upon Arabia;* and the governor of Yemen was free to choose a protectorate more congenial to his people. Bâdzân, the distance however of whose province from Medîna rendered its subordination at first little more than nominal, was glad to recognize the rising fortunes of Islam, and signified his adhesion to the Prophet.†

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* I refer the reader to vol. i. p. clxxxiii.

† The story of Bâdzân is surrounded with miracles and anachronisms. The order given by the monarch to him is made to follow, as its consequence, upon the receipt by Chosroes of Mahomet's despatch. But we have seen that the despatch itself did not leave Medîna, till after the death of Chosroes. The message to Bâdzân must, therefore, have been anterior to, and independent of it. The order of Chosroes to Bâdzân would take some time to reach the distant province of Yemèn, and the messengers of Bâdzân would be perhaps a month on the road to Medîna; so that a sufficient interval is allowed not only for the revolution in Persia, but for notice of it to reach Mahomet in time for communication to the messengers. Intelligence of so important an event would be quickly obtained by Mahomet, and his reply may have been (in the disorganized state of the Persian empire) the first intimation of the news received by Bâdzân.

The messengers of Bâdzân would naturally be startled at the unexpected intelligence communicated by Mahomet; but, whether he really represented his knowledge of the fact as super-

IV. Despatch to the governor of Egypt.

The embassy to Egypt was received with courtesy by Muckouckas, the Roman governor. While refusing to admit the claims of the Prophet, he gave substantial proof of friendly feeling in the valuable presents which he forwarded to him, with this reply:—"I am aware," he wrote, "that a Prophet is yet to arise: but I am of opinion that he will appear in Syria. Thy messenger hath been received with honour. I send for thine acceptance two damsels, highly estimated among the Copts, a present of raiment, and a mule for thee to ride upon." Though Mahomet ascribed the unbelief of Muckouckas to sordid fear lest the government of Egypt should slip from his hands, yet he willingly accepted the gifts, which, indeed, were well adapted to his tastes. Mary, the fairest of the two Coptic sisters, was retained for his own harem; Shirîn, the other, was presented to Hassân the Poet, who, since his reconciliation with Ayesha, had entirely regained the Prophet's favour. The mule was white,—a rarity

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naturally obtained, it is impossible to decide. Probability is against such a supposition.

Tradition, as usual, invents a marvellous story out of all this. When the messengers arrived, Mahomet dismissed them, we are told, and desired them to come on the morrow. Next day he addressed them thus:—"Tell your master that his lord, the Chosroes, hath been slain: the Lord delivered him into the hands of Shirûna his son, in this very night that hath just passed, the thirteenth of the first Jumâd, at the seventh hour;"—which miraculous intimation being subsequently confirmed, was the occasion of Bâdzân's conversion. *K. Wâckidi*, 50.

in Arabia; it was greatly prized, and was constantly ridden by Mahomet.*

The court of Abyssinia stood in a different relation to Mahomet from that of any of the courts to which he addressed his apostolical summons. There his followers had found, fifteen years before, a secure and hospitable retreat from the persecutions of the Coreish; and although about forty of

V. Despatch to the king of Abyssinia.

* The Egyptian governor must have shrewdly apprehended the weakness of Mahomet, when he sent him these two slave girls;—a strange present, however, for a *Christian* governor to make. The messenger was treated kindly: he was not kept waiting at the gate, and was not detained more than five days.

Though I have copied this reply from the Secretary of Wâckidi (p. 50), I should note that the expressions are evidently from oral tradition only.

In the *Journal Asiatique* for December 1854 (p. 482), M. Reinaud has given an interesting account of a curious discovery by M. Barthelémy of a parchment found within the binding of a Coptic manuscript, which bears some marks of being the original despatch of Mahomet to Muckouckas. The impression of a seal, with the required words decipherable on it, gives an air of *possibility* to the conjecture. The process, however, of detaching the parchment from the overlying materials in the binding, has rendered the forms of most of the letters, as shown in the facsimile, very indistinct. The opening words بسم الله الرحمن and a few others appropriate to the despatch are recognizable. But without farther consideration, it would be rash to entertain the hypothesis, or to draw any conclusions from the few legible words. I may notice that the MS. cannot be drawn into exact correspondence with the ordinary forms of this letter, as given by tradition. But this is no argument against its genuineness; for as already stated, I believe the forms given by tradition of all these despatches to be apocryphal,—though they probably contain *some* of the sentiments and expressions of the originals.

these exiles had rejoined the Prophet after his flight to Medîna, fifty or sixty were still left behind, who during all this time had enjoyed the protection of the Abyssinian Prince.* Amr ibn Omeya was now the bearer of two despatches to him.† One was couched in language like that addressed to the other Christian kings; and to this the *Najâshy* is said to have replied in terms of humble acquiescence,—embracing the new faith, and mourning over his inability to join in person the standard of the Prophet.‡ The answer was entrusted to the care of Jáfar, son of Abu Tâlib, Mahomet's cousin, who was

* See vol. ii. p. 161; *Hishâmi* (p. 346) gives the names of twenty-six persons, men, women, and children, who *now* returned from Abyssinia, sixteen being men. But unless we suppose that any of the Refugees still remained behind in Abyssinia, which is very unlikely, or (which is more probable) that during the intervening six years other parties returned to Medîna, the numbers were what I state in the text. There must have been occasional communications between the exiles and Medîna; for Mahomet had evidently received intimation of Obeidallah's death, and apparently also of his widow's willingness to marry him.

† This is the person repeatedly mentioned above, as a noted assassin.

‡ I have, in a note to vol. ii. p. 172, given grounds for doubting the conversion of the Najâshy. See also *Weil's note*, No. 305, p. 196. It was quite possible for a Christian Prince, more especially if he belonged to an Arian or Nestorian sect, and had seen or heard only certain portions of the Coran,—those for example containing strong attestations of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, exhortations against idolatry, &c. to have expressed an assent to the vague terms of Mahomet's epistle. For the efforts of the various Christian sects to gain over the Abyssinians, see *Gibbon*, chapter xlvii.

still an exile at the Abyssinian court. In the second despatch, the Prophet begged that his remaining followers might now be sent back to Medîna; and the singular request was added that, before their departure, the Prince would betroth to him Omm Habîba, whose early charms still held a place in his imagination. The husband of Omm Habîba was Obeidallah, one of the "Four Enquirers," who, as before related, after emigrating as a Mussulman to Abyssinia, had embraced Christianity there, and died in the profession of that faith.* By this alliance Mahomet at once gratified his passion for fresh nuptials (he had been now a whole year without adding to his harem);† and, perhaps, farther hoped to make Abu Sofiân, the father of Omm Habîba, more favourable to his cause. The Prince performed with readiness the part allotted to him in the ceremony.‡ He also provided two ships for the exiles, on which they all embarked; and during the Autumn they reached Medîna safely.§

Omm Habîba betrothed to Mahomet.

The Abyssinian refugees arrive at Medîna. 1st Jumâd, A.H. VII. August, A.D. 628.

The sixth messenger of Mahomet was sent to Haudza, the chief of a Christian tribe, the Bani

VI. Despatch to the chief of Yemâma.

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* See vol. ii. pp. 52, 109.

† The last addition to the number of his consorts was Rîhâna, the Jewess, at the close of the fifth year of the Hegira.

‡ The dower was four hundred dirhems. Khâlid ibn Sâid was the guardian who gave her away. *K. Wâckidi*, 39½, vol. ii. p. 110.

§ They first made for Bowla on the Arabian shore, "which is the same as Al Jâr;" then they reached Karnal Tzahar, and then Medîna. *K. Wâckidi*, 39½ and 49½.

Hanîfa, of Yemâma. The messenger was hospitably entertained; and the chief, having presented him with changes of raiment and provisions for the journey home, dismissed him with this reply for his master,—"How excellent is that revelation to which thou invitest me, and how beautiful! Know that I am the Poet of my tribe, and their Orator. The Arabs revere my dignity. Grant unto me a share in the rule, and I will follow thee." When Mahomet had read the answer, he said:—"Had this man stipulated for an unripe date only, as his share in the land, I would not have consented. Let him perish, and his vain glory with him!" And so Haudza died, the tradition adds, in the following year.*

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 50½.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIRST.

The Conquest of Kheibar. 1*st and* 2*nd Jumâd,* A.H. VII. *August and September,* A.D. 628.

Ætat. 60.

Mahomet resolves on attacking the Jews at Kheibar.

On his return from Hodeibia, as I have before related, in the spring of the year 628, Mahomet had promised to those who accompanied him in that pilgrimage the early prospect of a rich and extensive plunder. The summer passed without any enterprise whatever; and his followers began to be impatient for the fulfilment of their expectations. But quiet and peace still prevailed around. Mahomet probably waited for some act of aggression on the part of the Jews of Kheibar (it was the fertile lands and villages of that tribe which he had destined for his followers), or on the part of their allies the Bani Ghataſân, to furnish the excuse for an attack. But no such opportunity offering, he resolved, in the autumn of this year, on a sudden and unprovoked invasion of their territory.*

* Hishâmi places this expedition in Moharram (April), or the second month after the pilgrimage to Hodeibia. In another place he mentions Ramadhân, or December, 627, which is evidently wrong. The date given by Wâckidi and by his Secretary, which I have followed is (apart from their strong authority) probable,—

The army marches. 1st Jumâd, A.H. VII. August, A.D. 628.

The army marched from Medîna, sixteen hundred strong; being about the same number as had followed the Prophet on his pilgrimage to Hodeibia. But the force was greatly more powerful in cavalry:—the number on the present occasion being variously estimated at from one hundred to two hundred.* The Mussulman horse had never before exceeded thirty. Many of the other inhabitants of Medîna, and the Bedouin tribes, who had neglected the Prophet's former summons, would gladly now have joined the tempting expedition; but they were not permitted, and their mortification was great at being left behind. Omm Salma, the same wife who accompanied the Prophet to Hodeibia, was again his companion on the present journey.†

Kheibar surprised.

The distance, perhaps one hundred miles, was accomplished in three forced marches.‡ So quick

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(1), because it gives sufficient time after the pilgrimage to Hodeibia for the embassy to travel to Abyssinia and return, as it did at the close of the Kheibar campaign; and (2), because Wâckidi distinctly says that Mahomet returned to Medîna the following month, namely, the second Jumâd (Sep.), and adds that in that month, he warred against Wâdi al Cora, on his way back.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 121 and 122½.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 120½.

‡ Kheibar is agreed by all the early historians to be *eight* stages (*berîd*) from Medina. Each stage is said to be twelve Arabian miles (*i. e.* four parasangs, of each three miles); this would make the whole distance ninety-six Arabian miles; but the Arabian mile is a very uncertain quantity. Burckhardt, on hearsay, makes the distance "four or five days (some say only three) from Medina," p. 463. "Tayma is three days from Kheibar,

was the movement, the surprise so complete, that the cultivators of Kheibar, issuing forth in the morning to their fields, suddenly found themselves confronted by a great army, and rushed back to the city in dismay. This rapid approach cut off all hope to the Jews, of timely aid from the Bani Ghatafân.*

The fortresses one by one fall before Mahomet.

The rich vale of Kheibar was studded with villages and fortresses, strongly posted on rocks or eminences, which here and there rose from amidst the date groves and fields of corn. One by one, before any general opposition could be organized,

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and as many from Hedjer, in an easterly direction." Kheibar is six hours off the Hajj route. *K. Wâckidi*, 120½.—These points may help to fix its position.

Burton (ii. 298,) thinks the distance between Kheibar and Medîna in Burckhardt's map is too great by two degrees of latitude, and he would reduce it to eighty miles. But he perhaps unduly underrates it, especially when he says that "camels go there *easily* in three days."

Hishâmi gives three intermediate stages:—Isn, Sahba, and Rajî.

* The Secretary does not allude to the Bani Ghatafân, but Hishâmi says that Mahomet took up a position so as to cut off their assistance, p. 332. He adds that the Ghatafân did go forth to aid their allies, but returned on a rumour that their own homes were being attacked. But the fact is, that Mahomet's advent was totally unexpected. So the Secretary:—"When the Moslem army alighted before Kheibar, they did not stir that night, nor did a fowl cackle at them, till the sun arose. Then the Kheibarites opened their fortresses as usual, and went forth to their labours with their cattle, their spades, hoes, and other instruments of husbandry; suddenly they perceived the army in front of them, and fled back into their forts, screaming out,—"*It is Mahomet and his hosts!*" *K. Wâckidi*, 120½.

these forts were attacked and carried.* "*Kheibar is undone,*†" exclaimed Mahomet, as he passed from one stronghold triumphantly to another:—"*Great is the Lord! Truly when I light upon the coasts of any People, wretched for them is that day!*‡" From the villages in the valleys of Natâh and Shickk, which were gained with little loss, Mahomet proceeded to the region of Kuteiba. Here the Jews, who had now had time to rally round their chief Kinâna (he had succeeded to the command, on the assassination of his grandfather Abul Huckeick, and of Oseir, several months before§), posted themselves in front of the citadel Camuss, and resolved on a desperate struggle. After some vain attempts to dislodge them, Mahomet planned a grand attack:—"I will

A general action before the Fort of Camuss.

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* The Secretary mentions the following forts in Kheibar:—Al Natâh; the fort of Sâbs of Nâim; the castle of Al Zobeir; Al Shickk; of Obey; and Al Nozâr. Also the fortresses in the region of Al Kateiba, Al Camuss, Al Watîh, and Salâlim; this latter belonged to the family of Abul Huckeick, lately assassinated.

† A play on the word Kheibar, by inversion خربب حيبر.

‡ The following remarkable prayer, of the genuineness of which, however, there is no sufficient evidence, is given by Hishâmi, as recited by Mahomet on his advance to the attack:—"O God! Lord of Heavens, and of that which they overshadow; Lord of all lands and of what they bear: Lord of the Devils and of those they mislead: Lord of the winds and of that which they drive before them! We beseech thee to grant us whatever good is in this town, its inhabitants, and outskirts: and we implore protection from the evil thereof, from the evil of its inhabitants and of its outskirts. *Forward! in the name of the Lord!*" p. 332.

§ See above, chapter xviii.

give the Eagle," he said,—"the great black Flag,—into the hands of one that loveth the Lord and his Apostle, even as he is beloved of them; he shall gain the victory."* Next morning the flag was placed in Ali's hands, and the troops advanced. At this moment, a soldier stepped forth from the Jewish line, and challenged his adversaries to single combat:—"I am Marhab," he cried, "as all Kheibar knoweth,—a warrior bristling with arms, when the war fiercely burneth." The first Moslem who answered the challenge, aimed a blow at the Jewish champion with deadly force, but the sword recoiled upon himself, and he fell fatally wounded.† Marhab repeated his vain-glorious challenge, and then Ali himself advanced saying,—"I am he whom my mother named *the Lion*,—like a lion of the howling

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* There had been no great standard like this before. It is said to have been made out of a black dress, or mantle, worn by Ayesha,—a gallant device,—and was called *ucâb*, the "Black Eagle." There were two other smaller banners, held, one by Hobâb, the other by Sád ibn Obâda, both *Citizens*. *K. Wâckidi*, 120.

† The people cried out "Aámir" (that was his name) "hath killed himself: his works are vain" (*i. e.* because of his suicidal death). "Nay," said Mahomet, "he shall have a double reward!" On the road to Kheibar, this man had recited some martial verses before Mahomet, who thanked him, saying,—"The Lord have mercy on thee!" It is pretended that this mode of blessing from Mahomet, invariably portended an impending martyrdom. The verses, by the way, are the same as those ascribed to Mahomet at the battle of the Ditch. *K. Wâckidi*, 122.

wilderness, I weigh my foes in a gigantic balance."* The combatants closed, and Ali cleft the head of Marhab in two. The brother of Marhab having rashly renewed the challenge, Zobeir went forth and slew him.† The Moslem line made now a general advance, and, after a sharp conflict, drove back the enemy. In this battle, Ali performed great feats of prowess. Having lost his shield, he seized the portion of a door, which he wielded effectually in its stead. Tradition, in its expansive process, has transformed this extempore shield into a gigantic beam, and magnified the hero into a second Samson.‡ The victory was decisive, for the Jews lost ninety-three

The Jews beaten back with loss.

* That is, "I will make a fearful havoc." The two words used here for *lion* by Ali, are *Haida* and *Laith*.

† As Zobeir walked forth to the combat, his mother Safia ran up to Mahomet in alarm, crying out that her son would be killed:—"Not so, my Aunt!" replied Mahomet, "he will slay his fellow, if the Lord will!" Many women went from Medîna on this campaign to minister to the wounded. A story, very illustrative of the combined simplicity and coarseness of Arab manners, is given in the conversation of Mahomet with a young woman of the Bani Ghifâr, who rode on the same camel, and confided to him certain of her ailments. *Hishâmi*, 340.

‡ The story is in the ordinary cast of exaggerated tradition. Abu Râfi, Mahomet's servant, went after the battle to see the beam, in company with seven others, who together tried to *turn it over*, and were unable! *Hishâmi*, 335. The Secretary does not give this foolish story.

According to Hishâmi, it was not Ali who killed Marhab, but Mohammad ibn Maslama; the latter, he says, was resolved to avenge the death of his brother Mahmood, who had been killed by a millstone cast on him from the walls of the fortress first attacked. *Ibid.*

men; while of the Moslems, only nineteen were killed throughout the whole campaign.*

After this defeat, the fortress of Camuss surrendered, on condition that the inhabitants were free to leave the country, but that they should give up all their property to the conqueror. With the rest, came forth Kinâna, chief of the Jews of Kheibar, and his cousin. Mahomet accused them both of keeping back, in contravention of the compact, a portion of their riches, especially the treasures of the Bani Nadhîr, which Kinâna had obtained as a marriage portion with his wife, the daughter of the chief of that tribe.† "Where are the vessels of gold," he asked, "which ye used to lend to the people of Mecca?" They protested that they no longer possessed them. "If ye conceal anything from me," continued Mahomet, "and I should gain knowledge of it, then your lives and the lives of your families shall be at my disposal." They answered that it should be so. A traitorous Jew, having divulged to Mahomet the place in which a part of their wealth was deposited, he sent and fetched it. On the discovery of this attempt at imposition, Kinâna

Kinâna, the chief, tortured and put to death.

* The Secretary gives the number of killed at only fifteen; but Hishâmi (who specifies the names), numbers twenty; and both include Bishr, who was poisoned. Of the killed, four were Refugees.

† The father of his wife Safia, was Huwey, who it will be remembered was sent into exile with the Bani Nadhîr; but he returned with the Coreish to the siege of Medîna, and perished in the massacre of the Bani Coreitza.

was subjected to cruel torture,—"fire being placed upon his breast till his breath had almost departed," —in the hope that he would confess where the rest of his treasures were concealed. Mahomet then gave command, and the heads of the two chiefs were severed from their bodies.

The marriage of Mahomet with Safia, Kinâna's bride.

The scene of torture and bloodshed was hardly ended, when Mahomet sent Bilâl to fetch the wife of Kinâna, whose beauty was probably well known at Medîna.* Bilâl speedily performed his errand. Finding with Safia another damsel, her cousin, he brought them both straight across the battlefield strewed with the dead, and close by the corpses of Kinâna and his cousin. At the ghastly sight of their headless trunks, the companion of Safia screamed wildly, beating her face, and casting dust upon her head. "Take that she-devil hence," said Mahomet angrily: but aside he chided Bilâl for his want of consideration in bringing the women so near the bodies of their relatives. "Truly," said Bilâl, "I did it designedly; I wished to see their grief and anger stirred up." But Mahomet was moved by tenderer emotions;—turning complacently towards Safia, he cast his mantle around her, in token that she was to be his own, and then made her over to the care of Bilâl.

* I assume this to be the case, because (1) she was the daughter of a chief who had long lived at Medîna, and was well known there; and (2), because Mahomet, immediately upon Kinâna's execution, sent for her and cast his mantle over her. Indeed he is not free from the suspicion of being influenced in the destruction of Kinâna by the desire of obtaining his wife.

Dihya had also coveted this Jewish beauty; which, coming to the knowledge of Mahomet, he made him content with the present of her cousin.*

Mahomet did not long postpone his nuptials with Safia.† The wedding feast was celebrated with abundance of dates, curdled milk, and butter. Earth was heaped up into the shape of tables; on these the viands were spread, and the guests ate and were merry. Meanwhile the Prophet had charged a female attendant with the duty of suitably arraying the bride, and making her ready for him. When the feast was ended, the people prepared for the march; and they watched Mahomet, saying: "We shall see now whether he hath taken her for his

Consummated at Kheibar.

* I have followed chiefly the Secretary, p. 122; and *Hishâmi*, p. 336. Some traditions state that Safia fell to the lot of Dihya, and that Mahomet purchased her for seven camels from him. *K. Wâckidi*, 123. But the account in the text is the best supported and the most consistent.

† The interval is not exactly stated anywhere; but it could not on any supposition have been of long duration. Hishâmi says, that the marriage took place at Kheibar, or on the way returning from it, p. 339. The tenor of other traditions implies no delay whatever. I do not find any credible tradition intimating Safia's conversion, as is commonly supposed, before her marriage. Under any circumstances, it is clear that the period (three months) prescribed as necessary to intervene before marrying a woman who had previously been the wife of another, was not on this occasion observed by Mahomet. Either such ordinance was not then imposed, or Mahomet exempted himself from its operation.

Omm Suleim was the servant who dressed the hair of Safia, arrayed her in her bridal attire, and carried her to Mahomet. She was mother of Mahomet's servant Anis, a citizen of Medina. Safia's dower was her freedom.

wife or for a slave girl." And when he called for a screen to hide her from the public gaze, they knew from thence that she was to be his wife. Mahomet then lowered his knee to help her to ascend the camel: after some coy demur, she placed her foot upon his bended knee, and Mahomet (a bridegroom now of sixty years of age) raising her into the litter, conducted her to the bridal tent. In the morning he heard the noise of one rustling against the curtain of the tent. It was Abu Ayûb, who had there kept watch all night with his drawn sword.* "What has brought thee here?" asked Mahomet, surprised at the intrusion of his friend: "O Prophet!" he replied, "I bethought me that the damsel is young; it is but as yesterday that she was married to Kinâna, whom thou hast slain. And thus, distrusting her, I said to myself, *I will watch by the tent and be close at hand, in case she attempt anything against thee.*" Mahomet blessed him for his careful vigilance, and desired him to depart in peace.†

Safia's dream.

The precaution was unnecessary: for (if tradition speak truly) Safia accommodated herself most readily to the new alliance. It is related that she bore the mark of a bruise upon her eye; when the Prophet asked her tenderly the cause, she told him that while yet Kinâna's bride, she saw in a dream as if the moon had fallen from the heavens into

* The citizen with whom Mahomet lived on his first arrival at Medîna.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 123.

her lap; and that when she told Kinâna, he struck her violently, saying: "What is the dream but that thou covetest this king of the Hejâz, the Prophet, for thy husband!" The mark of the blow was the same which Mahomet saw.

Mahomet partakes of a poisoned kid.

But all the women of Kheibar were not equally changeable and faithless. The nuptials of Mahomet were damped by the revenge of Zeinab, the sister of the warrior Marhab, who had lost her husband, her father, her brother, and. other relatives in the battle.* She dressed a kid, and having steeped it in a deadly poison, placed it with fair words before Mahomet, at the hour of his evening repast. Graciously accepting the gift, he took the shoulder (the part he loved to eat, and which Zeinab had therefore impregnated most strongly) for himself, tore off a choice bone for Bishr who sat next him, and distributed portions to Abu Bakr and his other followers around. Scarcely had he swallowed the first mouthful, when he exclaimed: "Hold! surely this shoulder hath been poisoned;" and he spat forth what was in his mouth. Bishr, who had eaten more than Mahomet, at once changed colour, and stirred neither hand nor foot, until he died.† Mahomet

* Her husband was Sallâm, and her father Hârith, both chief men.

† Some say that he died on the spot, others, that he lingered for a year, but unable to stir his limbs, or to move from one side to the other.

It is a favourite tradition, that Mahomet said, "the shoulder *tells* me," or "*lets me know* that it is poisoned." It was natural

was seized with excruciating pain, and caused himself, and all those who had with him partaken of the dish, to be freely cupped between the shoulders. Zeinab was then summoned, and interrogated as to the motive of her offence:—"Thou hast inflicted," she replied boldly, "these grievous injuries on my people; thou hast slain my father, and my uncle, and my husband. Therefore I said within myself, if he is a Prophet he will be aware that the shoulder of the kid is poisoned, but if he be a mere pretender, then we shall be rid of him, and the Jews will again prosper." She was put to death.* The effects

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for this tradition to grow up, as it might very easily do unintentionally, from the various forms of expression in telling the story, or being in order to screen the *Prophet* from the charge of being devoid of prophetical knowledge. Mahomet did not assume for himself the ordinary possession of such knowledge; but tradition soon did so to a great extent for him.

Mahomet at any rate swallowed (ازدرد) his first mouthful before he perceived the evil taste.

Bishr said that he perceived the unusual taste at once, but did not stop eating, simply because he did not wish to set Mahomet against the food,—that he wished to die for Mahomet, &c.

* *K. Wâckîdi*, 121, 140½, 290½; *Hishâmi*, 238. Some say that she was set free upon making this exculpatory statement. But the balance of tradition is decidedly as in the text. Certain traditions state that she was made over to the relatives of Bishr, to be put to death judicially, for having poisoned him. The woman's speech in justification is cast in a rather common traditional type. Still, under the circumstances, it is not so unnatural as the common speeches of this kind are; and, if true, it is a specimen such as we do not often meet with in servile tradition, of undaunted opposition to the Conqueror,—a contrast to the fickle heartlessness of Safia.

of the poison were felt by Mahomet to his dying day.*

The remaining fortresses, with Fadak, capitulate.

After the victory at Camuss, the only remaining strongholds of Kheibar, namely Watîh, and Salâlim, were invested; and, seeing no prospect of relief, capitulated. They were thus saved from being sacked; but, like the rest of Kheibar, their lands were subjected to a tax of half the produce. Fadak, a Jewish town, not far from Kheibar, profited by its example, and having tendered a timely submission, was admitted to the same terms.

Wadi al Cora besieged and taken. 2nd Jumâd, A.H. VII. Sept. A.D. 628.†

On his march homewards from Kheibar, Mahomet laid siege to the Jewish settlement at Wadi al Cora, which after a resistance of one or two days, surrendered. The authority of Mahomet was thus established over all the Jewish tribes north of Medîna.‡

Division of the plunder.

The plunder of Kheibar was rich beyond all previous experience. Besides vast stores of dates, oil, honey, and barley, flocks of sheep and herds of camels,§ the spoil in treasure and jewels was very

* Hence, the traditionists delight to hold that Mahomet had the merit of a martyr. And the same is also said of Abu Bakr, one of those who also partook of the kid.

† *Wâckidi*, p. 6.

‡ M. C. de Perceval says that the Jews of Tayma also tendered their submission, iii. 203. This is likely enough, though it is not mentioned by K. Wâckidi or Hishâmi.

§ *C. de Perceval*, iii. 202. This detail is not given in my authorities, which deal in general terms. Hishâmi says, that from the time of Kheibar, *slaves* became very plentiful among the Moslems, p. 333. I do not find that, excepting the family of

large. A fifth of the whole was as usual set apart for the use of the Prophet, and for distribution at will among his family and the destitute poor. The remaining four-fifths were sold by outcry, and the proceeds, according to the prescribed rule, divided into one thousand eight hundred shares, being one share for a foot soldier, and three for a horseman.*

The lands, how disposed of.

The villages and lands were disposed of upon another principle. One half was reserved for Mahomet, and constituted thereafter a species of Crown domain; it embraced the tract of Kuteiba and the forts of Watîh and Salâlim. The other moiety was divided into one thousand eight hundred portions, and allotted by the same rule as the personal booty. A large and permanent source of revenue was thus

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Kinâna, any mention is made of slaves taken at Kheibar. But money, which the victors obtained plentifully at Kheibar, could purchase them cheaply in any part of Arabia.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 121. M. C. de Perceval represents the Prophet as taking one half; but this was clearly not the case. He obtained one half of the *land;* but the personal plunder took its usual course. There is some discrepancy as to the number, and the shares, of the horsemen. All agree that there were one thousand eight hundred shares; but some say that there were only one hundred horse,—each of which obtained three shares, which would make the army one thousand five hundred strong in foot, with one hundred horse. Others say, there were two hundred horse: of which each obtained two shares; this would make the infantry one thousand four hundred in number;—in either case, the total strength of both arms to one thousand six hundred. *K. Wâckidi*, 121, 122½.

M. C. de Perceval says that something additional was given to those who had chargers of pure Arab blood. But I do not find notice of this in my authorities.

secured for all those who had given proof of their faith and loyalty, by accompanying Mahomet to Hodeibia, and the promise made by the Prophet on that expedition was amply redeemed.

Even in those portions of Kheibar which were gained by storm, it was found expedient, in the absence of other cultivators, to leave the Jewish inhabitants in possession, on the condition already specified, of surrendering half the produce. An appraiser was deputed yearly to assess the amount, to realize the rents, and transmit them to Medîna.* This arrangement continued till the Caliphate of Omar, when, there being no scarcity of Moslem husbandmen, the Jews were expatriated, and entire possession taken of their lands.†

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* Abdallah ibn Rawâha first performed this duty, being a sort of arbiter between the Jewish cultivators and Moslem proprietors. Whenever the former charged him with exceeding in his estimate, he would say, "If it seem good unto you, take ye the estimated sum and give us the crop, or give us the estimated sum, and keep ye the crop." The Jews greatly esteemed his justice. He was killed the year following at Mûta. *Hishâmi*, 343.

† This is the plain and consistent statement of the Secretary. Advantage was naturally taken by Omar, in carrying out the expatriation of the Jews, of the fact that his son Abdallah had been wounded in his possessions there; but it is distinctly admitted that there was no proof as to who committed the outrage. Omar concluded that it must have been the Jews, simply because it was the second case of the kind. The previous case was the murder of Abdallah ibn Sahal; but here, too, there was no evidence; and therefore Mahomet justly paid the blood money himself.

Two other grounds to justify Omar's expulsion of the Jews

Special ordinances promulgated at Kheibar.

Some special ordinances were promulgated in this campaign. The flesh of the domestic ass (which the army on their first approach to Kheibar were driven by want of other food to eat) was forbidden, as well as that of all carnivorous animals.* Some restrictions were laid upon the immediate liberty of cohabitation, heretofore enjoyed in respect of female captives; but of whatever nature they were, it is clear that they did not fetter Mahomet in the marriage contracted with his female captive Safia.†

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are given by tradition:—(1), Mahomet plainly stipulated that the Jews were to hold possession, pending his pleasure,—they were mere tenants-at-will. (2), Mahomet said on his death-bed that no religion but Islam was to be permitted throughout the Peninsula; I doubt both grounds, and believe that they have been adduced simply from the desire to justify Omar's cruel expulsion of the Jews. *Hishâmi*, 344.

* See the similar rules in the *Coran*, *Sura*, v. 4; including what is torn, or dieth of itself, &c. There are some curious traditions on this part of the narrative. The soldiers were every where boiling asses' flesh in their pots throughout the camp, when the order was given, and forthwith they all overturned their pots. Horseflesh is allowed. *K. Wâckidi*, 122.

† The subject is one into which, from its nature, I cannot enter with much detail; but as it partly affects the character of Mahomet, in not having himself conformed to a law imposed upon his followers, I may remark that some traditions hold that Mahomet now prescribed that the "*istibra*," or interval required between divorce and re-marriage, was to be equally observed in the case of women taken in war as in all other cases. The Sonna has fixed this period for slaves at half the interval required for free women,—that is, two months (or possibly a month and a half), before the lapse of which, consorting with female slaves so captured is unlawful. Mahomet evidently did not himself conform to this rule in the case of Safia, as before explained. Some tra-

The most stringent rules were issued to prevent fraudulent appropriation from the common stock of booty. "No Believer shall sell aught of the spoil, until it has been divided; nor shall he take a beast therefrom, and after riding upon it until it become lean, return it; nor shall he take and wear a garment, and then send it back threadbare." A follower was convicted of plundering two sandal straps; the articles in themselves were insignificant: yet, said the Prophet to the thief, "Verily there shall be cut out for thee hereafter two thongs like unto them of fire."* When the army alighted before Wadi al Cora, Abd al Ghal, a servant of Mahomet, was shot by an arrow, in the act of taking the litter down from one of the camels:—"Welcome to Paradise!" exclaimed the bystanders. "Never!" said Mahomet; "by him in whose hand my life is! Even now his vestment is burning upon him in the fire of Hell; for he pilfered it before Kheibar from amongst the booty."†

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ditions make the prohibition delivered on the present occasion to apply to pregnant women only: *Hishâmi*, 333; *K. Wâckidi*, 122; but if so, it is not apparent at what later period the farther and more general restriction was introduced.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 122; and *Hishâmi*, 339.

† *Hishâmi*, 338. The story is very possibly exaggerated, it being an object among the Mussulmans to make the general right of the army in all the booty taken by it as secure and sacred as possible. But it shows the tendency and spirit of the system, under which a tradition of this nature could be put into the mouth of the Prophet, and as such, gain currency.

A martyr in Paradise who had never prayed.

As a counterpart to this incident, and showing the certainty of Paradise secured by the mere *profession* of Islam, I may transcribe the following tradition. Al Aswad, the shepherd of one of the Jews of Kheibar, came over to Mahomet, and declared himself a believer. Abandoning his flock, he straightway joined the Moslem army and fought in its ranks.*

* It is said that he asked Mahomet what he was to do with his flock. On the principle that a believer must discharge all his trusts and obligations, even those contracted with idolaters, before joining the standard of Islam, the Prophet desired him to throw a handful of gravel in the faces of the sheep and goats, whereupon they all ran off forthwith to their owner in the fortress.

On the same principle, it is said, Ali and other converts first scrupulously discharged the trusts which the Coreish had committed to them, before leaving Mecca to join Mahomet at Medîna. And a like principle has been applied by many strict Mahometans in decisive condemnation of the perfidy of the Sepoys in the late Indian rebellion. They were the servants, say they, of the British Government; and (even if there had been grounds for a religious war) ought first, like Ali and Al Aswad, to have discharged their trusts in full, and rendered up, instead of plundering, the arsenals and treasures in their custody.

No doubt the argument and inference are just, but they stand in unhappy contrast with the disregard of other principles of morality shown by Mahomet in his treatment of the Jews, and especially in the perfidious assassinations which he countenanced or ordered.

As a counterpoise to Al Aswad's integrity, I may mention the artifice by which Al Hajâj is said to have recovered his debts. With Mahomet's permission he went to Mecca, and he told the Coreish that Mahomet had been vanquished and, with all his followers, taken prisoner. The Coreish, in ecstasies at the intelligence, paid off all his claims. Before leaving Mecca, he made known to Abbâs, on condition of his keeping it secret for three

He was struck by a stone and killed, before he had yet as a Moslem offered up a single prayer. But he died fighting for the faith, and therefore had secured a Martyr's crown. Surrounded by a company of his followers, Mahomet visited the corpse, which had been laid out for him to pray over. When he drew close to the spot, he abruptly stopped and looked another way. "Why dost thou thus avert thy face!" asked those about him. "Because," said Mahomet, "two black-eyed houries of Paradise, his wives, are with the martyr now; they wipe the dust from off his face, and fondly solace him."*

Mahomet welcomes Jáfar and the other Abyssinian exiles.

About this period, Mahomet had the pleasure to welcome back his cousin Jáfar, Ali's brother, who, with some of the exiles just returned from Abyssinia, went out to meet the army as it came back from Kheibar. "I know not," Mahomet said, "which of the two delighteth me the most,—Jáfar's arrival, or the conquest of Kheibar." The army cheerfully acceded to his proposal that their newly arrived friends should be admitted to share in the spoil.

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days, that he had told a lie,—for that Mahomet had vanquished Kheibar, and married the king's daughter. *K. Wâckidi*, 121; *Hishâmi*, 342. The story is doubtful, however.

* *Hishâmi*, p. 341. Neither can I vouch for this story, but like the last, it illustrates the spirit of Islam, and the teaching of Mahomet, under the influence of which such tales grew up.

"Whenever a martyr is slain in battle," so runs the tradition, "his two black-eyed wives, the houries, draw near unto him, wipe the dust from off his face, and say,—'*The Lord cast dust on the face of him who hath cast dust on thine, and slay him who slew thee!*'"

And completes his marriage with Omm Habîba. Autumn, A.H. VII. A.D. 628.

On the return of Mahomet to Medina, he completed the marriage with Omm Habîba, daughter of Abu Sofiân, which the Najâshy had contracted for him in Abyssinia. There were now nine wives, besides two female slaves, in the harem of the Prophet.

Mahomet bewitched by the Jews.

Before closing this chapter, which contains the last notice of the Jews of Arabia, I ought to mention the tale of Mahomet's having been bewitched by a Jewish spell. On his return from Hodeibia, the Jews who still remained at Medîna (ostensibly converted, but hypocrites and enemies at heart,) bribed a sorcerer named Labîd and his daughters to bewitch Mahomet. This they did by secretly procuring hairs combed from the Prophet's head, and tying eleven knots with them on the branch of a male palm, which was then put at the bottom of a well, with a large stone over it. The enchantment took effect: Mahomet began to pine away,—to fancy he had done things which in reality he never had done, to lose his appetite, and to neglect his wives. At last, Gabriel told him the secret of his ailment. The well was emptied, and the knots untied. Immediately the spell broke, and the Prophet was relieved.

The cxiii. and cxiv. Suras.

I must confess myself unable to decide what portion of the tale is true, or whether it has any foundation at all in fact. The common tradition is, that the two last Suras in the Coran were revealed on this occasion, containing a charm against all spells and

incantations; and, that during the recitation of the eleven verses which they contain, the knots unravelled themselves one by one till the whole were unloosed, and the charm dissolved. The hundred and thirteenth Sura is as follows:

"Say:—I flee for Refuge to the Lord of the Daybreak,—from the evil of that which he hath created; and from the evil of the darkness when it overshadoweth; and from the evil of the Women that blow upon the knots; and from the evil of the envious when he envieth."

Considerations as to the credibility of the tale.

The story may possibly have grown out of the penultimate verse of this Sura, in which Mahomet prays to be delivered "from the evil of the women blowing upon knots."* Or, on the other hand, it may be founded on suspicions actually entertained by Mahomet against the Jews, of sorcery by the tying of knots, and other forms of incantation; and these suspicions may have led to the composition of the Sura.

Its credibility partly sustained.

The latter alternative is supported by the consideration, that Mahomet was by nature superstitious, and that he had already suspected the Jews of bewitching the Moslem women into barrenness. On the present occasion, he is said to have caused the well into which the mysterious knots had been cast to be dug up, and another sunk in its place. On his return from visiting the spot, he told Ayesha that "the date-trees in the garden were like devils' heads,

* Compare Ezekiel, xiii. 18, to end.

and the water of the well dark as a decoction of Henna." She inquired whether the incident might with propriety be spoken of; he replied that it would be better that she should not divulge it, lest it might cause the evil of witchcraft to spread amongst his people.

The sorcerer allowed to escape.

Some traditions say that the sorcerer was put to death; but the more reliable account is, that Mahomet let him go free, but turned with aversion from him.*

* The Secretary, p. 140, has a profusion of traditions on the subject. The story, upon the whole, is given with great consistency. Some say that it was Labîd's *sisters* who assisted him; and that it was *two Angels* who revealed the plot to Mahomet.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SECOND.

Pilgrimage to Mecca.

Dzul Cáda. A.H. VII.—*February,* A.D. 629.

Expeditions undertaken in the autumn and winter of A.H. VII. A.D. 628.

AFTER returning from Kheibar, Mahomet passed the rest of the autumn and the winter at Medîna. Five or six expeditions were, during this period, despatched, under command of different Moslem chiefs, in various directions. Beyond the chastisement and plunder of some offending tribes, and an occasional reverse, they were not attended by any political results. But they show that the influence of Mahomet was fast expanding, and bringing him gradually into relations, hostile or friendly, with even distant tribes. It will be sufficient to enumerate these excursions in a note.*

* In Shâban, or November, there were three expeditions :— 1. Thirty men under Omar, went in quest of a tribe of the Bani Hawâzin on the road to Sanaû and Najrân, but without success. 2. Abu Bakr headed a considerable party against the Bani Kilâb in Najd, many of whom were slain or taken prisoners. 3. Bashîr was sent with thirty men against the B. Murra in the vicinity of Fadak. They had probably interfered with the territory conquered by Mahomet there. Bashîr drove off their camels and flocks ; but he was pursued, the booty rescued, his followers slain, and, he himself wounded, with difficulty escaped to Mahomet.

Mahomet sets out on the Lesser Pilgrimage to Mecca. Dzul Cáda, A.H. VII. February, A.D. 629.

The time had now come round when Mahomet, according to the treaty of Hodeibia, might visit Mecca, and fulfil undisturbed the Omra, or Lesser Pilgrimage,* from the rites of which he had been in the previous year debarred. Besides those who had made the unsuccessful pilgrimage to Hodeibia, many others now accompanied him, so that the cavalcade numbered about two thousand men. Each was armed, according to the stipulation, only with a sword; but, as a precaution against treachery, a large reserve of armour and lances was carried separately. Muhammad, son of Maslama, with a hundred horse, marched one stage in advance of the Pilgrims. Sixty camels for sacrifice were also driven in front.

Precautionary arrangements before entering Mecca.

At Marr al Tzahrân, one stage from Mecca, Mahomet sent forward the store of armour to the valley

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In Ramadhân, an incursion by one hundred and thirty men was successfully planned and carried out against the Bani Uwâl at Mayfáak, on the confines of Najd. The settlement was surprised; many put to death; and the camels and flocks of the tribe driven off. In this expedition, Usâma, son of Zeid, killed a man who shouted aloud the Moslem creed. Mahomet on his return, chided him, saying: "What! didst thou split open his heart, to see whether he told the truth or not?" Usâma said he would do so no more.

In Shawwâl, January, 629, Bashîr again commanded an expedition to Yamn and Jabbâr (in the vicinity of Wâdi al Cora, Kheibar, and Salâh,) against the Ghatafân, who were once more plotting mischief with Uyeina. They found their houses deserted, but carried off an immense herd of camel.

* This Pilgrimage is called *Omrat al Cadhâa*, or the "*fulfilled* Pilgrimage;" *i. e.* the pilgrimage undertaken in fulfilment of the vision (p. 23), and of the abortive attempt at Hodeibia to realize it.

of Yajâj, where it remained outside the sacred territory,* guarded by two hundred well-armed soldiers, while the rest of the Pilgrims advanced to the Kaába. The victims were also sent forward to Dzu Towa in the vicinity of Mecca.

Mahomet enters Mecca; performs the circuit of the Kaába;

Meanwhile, the Coreish, apprised of Mahomet's near approach, retired from Mecca, and, ascending the adjacent hills, watched with curious and anxious eye for the appearance of the exile who had so long been the troubler of their city. At last the cavalcade was seen emerging from the northern valley. At its head was Mahomet, seated on Al Caswa; Abdallah ibn Rawâha, a leader of the Bani Khazraj, walking in front, held the bridle; around the Prophet crowded his chief companions; and behind, in a long extended line, followed the rest of the Pilgrims on camels and on foot. Seven eventful years had passed since Mahomet and the Refugees last saw their native valley and its holy Temple. They hastened forward with the eagerness of long repressed desire, shouting the pilgrim cry, *Labbeik! Labbeik!* Still mounted on his camel, the pilgrim's mantle drawn under his right arm and thrown over the left shoulder, Mahomet approached the Kaába, touched the Black Stone reverentially with his staff, and then accomplished the seven prescribed circuits of the holy House. The people followed, and, at the bidding of Mahomet,

* From thence the landmarks bounding the sacred territory were visible, close at hand. *K. Wâckidi*, 124.

to show the Meccans that they were not weakened (as their enemies pretended) by the fever of Medîna, they ran the three first circuits at a rapid pace.* Abdallah, as he led the Prophet's camel, shouted at the pitch of his voice some warlike and defiant verses.† But Omar checked him. And Mahomet said, "Gently! son of Rawâha! Recite not this; but say instead:—'*There is no God but the Lord alone! It is he that hath holden his servant, and exalted his Army! Alone hath he discomfited the confederated hosts.*'" Abdallah proclaimed these words accordingly: and all the people taking them up shouted loudly as they ran round the Kaába, till the sound reverberated through the valley.

And slays the victims.

The circuits completed, Mahomet, still upon his camel, proceeded to the adjoining eminence of Safâ, and rode from thence to the opposite rising ground of Marwa and back again, seven times, according to the ancient custom.‡ The victims having then been

* The same was done at Mahomet's final visit to the Kaába, and became a standing ordinance. I confess that the reason given sounds childish. The Coreish must have had, in the battles and marauding excursions of the Refugees, proof of their physical strength, far more convincing than a race three times round the Kaába could afford. Had not tradition been positive and unanimous on the point, I should rather have attributed the first rapid circuits to the burst of joyous feeling in the exiles at resuming an old cherished custom, after having been long debarred from it.

† The verses attributed to Abdallah are, in part at least, apocryphal. I have explained this in a note, vol. i. Introd. p. lxxxv.

‡ See vol. i. Introd. p. ccv. For the places, see the plan of Mecca, in the same vol. p. 5.

brought and placed in order at Marwa, were sacrificed there;—Mahomet calling aloud,—"This is the place of sacrifice, and so is every open valley of Mecca." Then he shaved his head, and thus ended the ceremonies of the Lesser pilgrimage.

His next care was to relieve the soldiers on guard over the weapons at Yajâj, who then visited Mecca and fulfilled their pilgrimage after the same example. The guard over the weapons do the same.

On the morrow, Mahomet entered the Kaâba and remained there till the hour of mid-day prayer.* At the appointed time, Bilâl ascended the holy House, and from its summit vociferated the Moslem call to prayers. The Pilgrims assembled at the cry, and under the shadow of the Temple the service was led by the Prophet in the accustomed form. Public prayer performed at the Kaâba.

While at Mecca, Mahomet entered none of the houses there. He lived in a tent of leather pitched for him in the open space south of the Kaâba. But he held friendly communication with several of the citizens. And, during this interval, he was not deterred either by the sacred object of his visit, his Mahomet takes Meimûna to wife.

* The day is not mentioned: but it could hardly have been the day of first entering Mecca, as that would not have allowed interval sufficient for the various ceremonies of circuit and sacrifice, and also for spending some time in the Kaâba before mid-day. It was probably the second day. My account differs in one or two particulars from that of M. C. de Perceval (iii. 208), who makes Mahomet visit Minâ, and there slay the victims; and from Weil (p. 203), who says that Mahomet was not permitted to enter the Kaâba. The Secretary, however, is very distinct in his statement; and I have followed him. *K. Wâckidi*, 124.

advanced age (now exceeding three score years), or by the recollection that within the present year he had already welcomed three new inmates to his harem,* from negotiating another marriage. Meimûna, the favoured lady, was sister to Omm al Fadhl, the wife of Abbâs, into whose keeping, since her widowhood, she had committed the disposal of her hand. Mahomet listened to the overtures of his uncle that she should be added to the number of his wives, the more readily perhaps as two of her sisters were already allied to his family, one being the wife of Jáfar,† and another the widow of Hamza.

Mahomet warned to leave Mecca.

Mahomet endeavoured to turn the present opportunity for conciliating the citizens of Mecca to the best effect, and as the sequel will show, not without success. But the time was short. Already the stipulated term of three days was ended, and he had entered on a fourth, when Suheil and Huweitib, chief men of the Coreish, appeared before him and said:—"The period allowed thee hath elapsed: depart now therefore from amongst us." To which the Prophet replied courteously:—"And what harm if ye allowed me to remain and celebrate my nuptials in your midst, and make you a feast at which ye might all sit down?" "Nay," roughly answered the chiefs, "We have no need of thy viands:

* I say *three*, including the captive maid Mary, with Omm Habîba and Safiya.

† Her name was Asma bint Oneis. Abu Bakr married her, after Jáfar's death.

Retire!" Mahomet gave immediate orders for departure: it was proclaimed among the Pilgrims that by the evening not one should be left behind in Mecca. Placing his bride in charge of his servant Abu Râfi, he himself proceeded at once to Sarif, distant from the city eight or ten Arabian miles.* In the evening, Abu Râfi, carrying Meimûna with him, reached the same place, and the marriage was there consummated. Early next morning, the march was resumed, and the cortége returned to Medîna.

Consummates his marriage with Meimûna.

Meimûna is said to have been at this time fifty-one years of age.† She survived thirty years, and was buried on the spot on which she had celebrated her marriage with the Prophet. The harem of Mahomet had reached its limit: for this was the last marriage contracted by him. He now had ten wives, besides two slaves or concubines. But Zeinab

Number of his harem now complete.

* Ibn Cuteiba says ten; M. C. de Perceval says eight: vol. iii. 209. Burton states that her tomb is still visited at this place in the Wady Fatima, iii. 241.

† Mahomet's jealousy even of his elder wives may be illustrated by the following anecdote:—A deputation from the B. Hilâl ibn Amir came to Medîna, asking Mahomet for help to discharge a debt, which he promised to do when the tithes came in. A young man, Ziâd, nephew to Meimûna, being with this company, went to see his aunt. Mahomet coming suddenly into the place was disconcerted at the sight: his visage showed marks of wrath, and he turned to go away. "It is only my sister's son," cried Meimûna after him. So he returned. Then he took the young man into the Mosque for the mid-day prayer; and dismissed him with a blessing, placing both hands upon his head, and drawing them over his nose.

bint Khozeima died before him; the number consequently was then reduced to nine, or, including concubines, to eleven.*

Sister and niece of his bride accompany him to Medîna.

Mahomet brought with him to Medîna his bride's sister, Salma, the widow of Hamza (who, it would seem, had not accompanied her husband in his exile), and Omârah, her unmarried daughter. Jáfar, Ali, and Zeid ibn Hârith, each contending for the honour of receiving Omârah into his family, Mahomet decided in favour of Jáfar, because he was married to her aunt.*

Khâlid, Amru, and Othmân ibn Talha, go over to Mahomet.

Another sister of Meimûna was the mother of Khâlid ibn Walîd,† the famous warrior who had turned the tide of the battle at Ohod against the Moslems. Not long after the marriage of his aunt to the Prophet, Khâlid repaired to Medîna, and gave in his adhesion to the cause of Islam. Two others followed him. One, his friend Amru (ibn al Aas), whose poetic talents had often been used for the annoyance and injury of Mahomet. He was a man of weight in the councils of the Coreish, and had been employed by them in their embassy to Abys-

* I have not thought it necessary to mention two or three other women, whose intended marriage with Mahomet was broken off at various stages before consummation: more especially as doubt attaches to the several narratives. The families of these women would naturally try to suppress these abortive negotiations as not creditable to them. See *Ibn Cuteiba*, p. 68.

† His mother's name was Lobâba, the Less; Omm Fadhl, her elder sister, being also called Lobâba: these two were by the same father, Hârith. The other sisters were by another father, Omeis.

sinia.* The other was Othmân, son of Talha, a chief of some note, and (as successor to the *Hijâba*) custodian of the Kaâba.† He had, no doubt, in that capacity, attended on the late occasion with the keys of his office to give Mahomet admittance to the holy House; and, perhaps, like many others, who gazed from a respectful distance on that memorable scene, was gained over by the earnest devotion

* His name is properly Amr, the *u* at its close being added by Arab scribes to distinguish it from Omar, which it otherwise resembles, when written. But *Amru*, the conqueror of Egypt, is a name familiar to the European reader, and the confusion from changing it would not be counterbalanced by the benefits of orthography. For his trip to Abyssinia, see vol. ii. p. 172.

Hishâmi gives a very improbable account of his conversion. After the siege of Medîna, struck with the augmenting power of Mahomet, he resolved to go to the Najâshy, and in Abyssinia await the result of the struggle between the Prophet and his countrymen. So he went thither with a company of Coreish, who carried a present of leather for the Prince; and they were there when the messenger arrived with Mahomet's despatch in the sixth year of the Hegira. Amru desired to get hold of this messenger, and kill him; but the Prince was indignant at the idea of giving him up, and exhorted Amru, on the contrary, to embrace Islam; which he did secretly, signifying his allegiance to Mahomet by striking the Prince's hand. Then crossing the Red Sea, he went forth to go to Mahomet shortly before the conquest of Mecca, and met Khâlid, who was on the same errand. *Hishâmi*, p. 308.

The original embassy of Amru has apparently been mixed up with this story, which, besides, is full of inconsistencies.

† See vol. i., Introd. pp. cciv., ccxliv., ccxlvii. Othmân was of the family of Abd al Dâr, to which branch, it will be remembered, that three offices were reserved—the custody of the Kaâba, the Presidency in the Hall of Council, and the right of raising and presenting the Banner at the commencement of a war.

of Mahomet to the national shrine, and by the elevation and beauty of the services which he there performed.

Mahomet's position at Mecca improving.

The position of Mahomet at Mecca was greatly strengthened by the accession of such leading men. The balance was already wavering: it required little to throw it entirely on the side of Islam. To what extent persons of less note and influence about this time came over to Medîna, or remaining at Mecca declared in favour of Mahomet, is not told to us. But there can be no doubt that the movement was not confined to Khâlid, Amru, and Othmân, but was wide and general; and that the cause of Islam was every day gaining popularity.

A *coup d'état* becoming possible.

His visit to Mecca enabled Mahomet to see and estimate the growth of his own influence there, upon the one hand, and the waning power and spirit of the Coreish, upon the other. The citizens of Mecca were weary of intestine war and bloodshed. The advocates of peace and compromise were growing in numbers and in confidence. Among the Coreish there were no chiefs of marked ability or commanding influence. A bold and rapid stroke of policy might put an end to the struggle which for so many years had depressed and agitated Mecca. A *coup d'état* was possible.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THIRD.

Battle of Mûta, and other Events in the first Eight Months of A.H. VIII. A.D. 629.

Ætat. 61.

DURING the summer, several military excursions were undertaken. Some of these ended disastrously. About a month after the return of Mahomet from pilgrimage, he despatched a party of fifty men to the Bani Suleim,* with the view apparently of demanding their allegiance to the faith of Islam. But the tribe, suspicious of their designs, received the strangers with a cloud of arrows. The most of them were slain, and the leader with difficulty escaped to Medîna. The Bani Suleim must have seen cause shortly after to change their views, for we find them amongst the tribes which in the following year sent embassies of submission to the Prophet.†

Unfortunate expedition against the Bani Suleim *Dzul Hijj*, A.H. VII. April, A.D 629.

* A branch of the Bani Khasafa, and sister tribe to the Hawâzin. See Introd. vol. i. p. ccxxiv.; and vol. ii. p. 256. Some months farther on in the summer, a small expedition was sent against the B. Hawâzin at Al Syya beyond Al Mâdan, and near Rakuba. Their object, the mere plunder of camels and flocks, was accomplished. I have not thought it important enough to be entered in the text. *K. Wâckidi*, 125.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 124½; and the same authority for the following expedition.

A marauding party sent against the Bani Leith. Safar, A.H. VIII. June, A.D. 629.

Two or three months later, an expedition was planned against a petty branch of the Bani Leith, near Cudeid, on the road to Mecca, the object of which is not stated. The encampment of the tribe was surprised, and their camels plundered. But shortly after, the marauders were pursued, and were only saved by a rapid flight back to Medîna.*

The Bani Murra chastised.

In the preceding winter, a small party sent by Mahomet towards Fadak, had been cut to pieces by the Bani Murra.† A well-appointed detachment of two hundred men was now despatched to inflict chastisement upon them: "If the Lord deliver them into thy hands," said Mahomet to the leader, "let not a soul of them escape." The commission was executed with complete success. All who fell within reach of the avenging force were slain, and the camels of the tribe were carried off in triumph to Medîna.

Mishap at Dzât Atlâh; 1st Rabi; A.H. VIII. July, A.D. 629.

Soon after this, a party of fifteen men was sent to Dzât Atlâh, a place on the borders of Syria. There they found a great assemblage of people, who were called upon to embrace Islam. A shower of arrows was the decisive answer. The Mussulmans fought desperately; one man alone sur-

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 124½, and *Hishâmi*, p. 445. The place is given both as Kadîd and Cudeid. It is pretended that a supernatural flood intervened between the Moslems and their pursuers, and frustrated the intentions of the latter.

† The same expedition of Bashîr mentioned in the note at the beginning of the last chapter, p. 83.

vived to tell the tale. Mahomet was much afflicted by this calamity, and planned an expedition to revenge the death of his followers. But tidings reached him that the place had been deserted, and he relinquished the idea for the moment.*

Perhaps the cause of the attack on Mûta.

A reverse is generally described by tradition with enigmatical brevity; and, from the few details, it is difficult to determine what was the object for which this little band was sent forth. It may have been an embassy to certain tribes; or a secret mission to spy out the cause of the rumoured gathering and uneasiness on the Syrian frontier. However this may be, I cannot but connect the above disaster with the great inroad directed by Mahomet about two months afterwards upon the border-districts of Syria.

A large army marches from Medina upon Mûta. 1st Jumâd. A.H. VIII. Sept. A.D. 629.

The cause ordinarily assigned for this invasion of the Roman territory was the murder by Sharahbîl, chief of Maâb or Mûta, of a messenger despatched by Mahomet to the Ghassânide Prince at Bostra.† It

* The spot is said to have been beyond Wâdi al Cora, and to have been a part of Syria; من ارض الشام. *K. Wâckidi*, 125.

† The chief of Mûta is called Shurahbîl, son of Amr: see vol. i. p. clxxxix.; and *M. C. de Perceval*, vol. ii. p. 253. No details of the murder are anywhere given; and it is not mentioned at all by Hishâmi. It is remarkable that this messenger is called, by the Secretary, Ibn Omeir, and that the leader of the expedition just recounted (*i. e.* to Dzât Atlâh) has the same patronymic. The personal name, however, and the tribe, are given differently. He is said to have been the only ambassador of Mahomet that was put to death. I am much inclined to identify

was, tradition tells us, immediately resolved to attack and punish the offending chief. A general assembly of the fighting men was called, and a camp of three thousand soldiers formed at Jorf. A white banner was prepared, and the Prophet, placing it in the hands of Zeid ibn Hâritha as commander, bade him march to the spot where his messenger had been slain, summon the inhabitants to embrace Islam, and, should they refuse, in the name of the Lord to fight against them. If Zeid were cut down, then Jáfar was to command; if Jáfar, then Abdallah ibn Rawâha;* and if he too were disabled, then the army should choose their own commander. Mahomet accompanied them as far as the *Mount of Farewell;*† and as they passed onwards, blessed them

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the expedition to Dzât Atlâh with the embassy, and to regard its disastrous issue as the cause of the invasion of Mûta.

* Abdallah was a poet, and Mahomet desired him to stir up the spirit of the army destined for Mûta by reciting martial verses. He objected, saying that he had left off composing poetry; but at last obeyed. The verses are precisely the same as those ascribed to Mahomet himself at the building of the Mosque, at the battle of the Ditch, and at Kheibar.

It is related that one day, as Abdallah was passing the Mosque, Mahomet called him, and bidding him sit down, asked how he contrived to compose poetry at will, expressing surprise at the faculty. Abdallah replied, "I think upon the subject for a while; then I recite." Mahomet said, "Recite to me now something regarding the Unbelievers." He had nothing ready: but after thinking for a little, he repeated a poem to the purpose. Mahomet was pleased, and smiling, blessed him, and said, "The Lord strengthen thee." *K. Wâckidi*, p. 283.

† *Thaniat al Widâ;* a rising ground a little way out of Medîna,

thus: "The Lord shield you from every evil, and bring you back in peace, laden with spoil!"

Preparations made by the Syrian tribes for its repulse.

Tidings of the approach of this formidable army reached Sharahbîl, who summoned to his defence all the tribes of the vicinity. The hostile incursions which Mahomet had from time to time directed against the Syrian border, the repeated attack on Dûma, the conquest of Kheibar, and his generally aggressive attitude towards the north, had no doubt led to precautionary measures of alliance among the people of the frontier. Upon the alarm of invasion, they quickly rallied round Sharahbîl, a large and (compared with the troops of Medîna) a well-appointed army.* On reaching Maân, Zeid first received the startling intelligence of these preparations. The enemy, he heard, was encamped at Maâb, in the territory of Belcâa; and his apprehension was increased by the rumour that the

Council of war held by the Moslems at Maân.

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on the Syrian road. Merchants proceeding in caravans to Syria probably took leave of their families here; whence the name.

* The traditions pretend that he had collected one hundred thousand men. M. C. de Perceval quotes Theophanes to show that this great army was probably brought together by Theodorus, brother of Heraclius, which might account for the rumour reaching the Moslem camp that the Emperor himself was in the field with two hundred thousand men. Not having Theophanes by me, I must be content with this reference at second hand.

The Syrian army was composed partly of Romans, partly of the semi-Christian tribes of the desert,—the Bani Bahrâ, Balî, Wâil, Bakr, Lakhm, and Judzâm. See Introd. ch. iii. vol. i. p. clxvi. The attack of Zeid upon the Bani Judzâm two years before, will be in the reader's recollection, see above, p. 10.

Emperor was himself at their head. He halted, and for two whole days the Moslem chiefs discussed the difficulties of their position. Many advised that a letter should be sent to Mahomet. He had not contemplated, they said, an encounter with the Imperial forces : they were sent only to avenge the treachery of a petty chief; they ought not to risk an encounter with an enemy so vastly their superiors at least, the Prophet should be apprised of the new aspect of affairs, and solicited for fresh instructions. Abdallah, on the contrary, urged an immediate advance:—"What have we marched for thus far," he cried out indignantly, "but for this? Is it our numbers, or the help of the Lord, in which we trust? Victory or martyrdom,—one or the other,—is surely ours! *Then forward!*" Overcome by this fervid appeal, they all responded:—"By the Lord! The son of Rowâha speaketh the truth. Let us hasten onwards!" So the camp advanced.

Battle of Mûta.

On entering the confines of Belcâa, they suddenly found themselves confronted by the enemy; alarmed at the glittering array, they fell back, notwithstanding the enthusiastic aspirations which had just pervaded their ranks, on the village of Mûta.* There,

* They met the Romans first at a village in Belcâa, called Mashârif, said to be a little way south of Kerak, and half a day's march south of Moâb. The backward movement is related by Hishâmi, but not by the Secretary, who, as usual in the narrative of reverses, is brief and unsatisfactory. He simply says, that the Moslems were met at Mûta by the force of the Idolaters, which,

finding advantageous ground, they halted, and forming front, resolved to offer battle. The Roman phalanx, with its cloud of Arabs upon either flank, moved steadily down upon them. Zeid seizing the white flag, led his columns forward, and fought manfully at their head, till he was pierced by the spears of the enemy, and fell to the ground. Then Jáfar leaped from his horse, and maiming it in token that he would either conquer or die,* raised aloft the banner, and urged forward the attack. His body was soon covered with wounds, yet he fought on till a Roman soldier closed with him, and dealt him a fatal blow. †

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for numbers, and arms and equipments, and rich furniture, and vestments of silk and gold, far surpassed anything that had yet been met by any Moslem army.

* Recorded as the first instance of a Moslem having hamstrung his horse on the field of battle.

† Hishâmi (but not the Secretary) gives the popular story of his right hand having been first cut off, and of his then carrying the standard in his left: when that too was lost, he held the standard with the mutilated remnants of his arms, till he was slain. This is rather a favourite and suspicious description of bravery in Moslem battles, more likely perhaps to occur in the single and scattered combats of Arabian warfare than in the general encounter which took place here. The Secretary speaks of *seventy-two* wounds having been counted on the front of his body. But I doubt whether the body itself was even recovered. The burial of the Moslem dead is not mentioned. They were apparently left on the field of battle. The believers were too glad to seek for safety in flight.

The song with which Jáfar led the attack is no doubt apocryphal, but it strongly illustrates the fanatical feeling now rapidly growing up: — "*Paradise! How fair a resting-place. Cold is the water there, and sweet the shade! Rome! Rome! thine hour of tribulation*

Seeing Jáfar fall, Abdallah seized the standard, but he, too, speedily met the same fate. Then, following the instructions of Mahomet, the chief men assembled in hasty council, and with one consent fixed on Khâlid, who forthwith assumed the command. But the chance of victory had passed away. The ranks were already broken; and the Romans in full pursuit made great havoc amongst the fugitives.* It only remained for Khâlid to save his scattered and retreating columns from destruction, and even this taxed to the utmost his great skill and prowess. By a series of ingenious and rapid movements, he succeeded in deceiving or eluding the enemy, and drew off the shattered remains of his army from the field, with little further loss. He dared not linger in this dangerous vicinity, but marched back straightway to Medîna. As he drew near to the city, the people came out to meet the returning army, and reproachfully cast dust at them, crying out,—"Ah ye run-

Khâlid saves the broken force.

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draweth nigh. When I close with her, I will strike her down to the ground." *Hishâmi*, p. 350.

Jáfar was displeased at Zeid having been appointed by Mahomet to the command before himself. *K. Wâckidi*, 187½.

* So, distinctly, in the Secretary of *Wâckidi*, p. 125½. Some accounts (as the one which I will presently quote in a note) pretend that Khâlid rallied the army; and either turned the day against the Romans, or made it a drawn battle. But, besides that the brevity of all the accounts is proof enough of a reverse, the reception of the army on its return to Medîna admits of only one conclusion, viz. a complete, ignominious, and unretrieved, discomfiture.

aways! Do ye indeed flee before the enemy when fighting for the Lord?" But Mahomet, who also had ridden out, carrying on the mule in front of him the little son of Jáfar, put a stop to these reproaches, and reassured the downcast troops by saying,— "Nay, they are not runaways; but they are men who will yet again return unto the battle, if the Lord will."

Mahomet's grief at the death of Jáfar and Zeid.

The loss of his cousin Jáfar the brother of Ali, and of Zeid, the faithful and beloved friend of five-and-thirty years,* affected Mahomet deeply. On the first intelligence of the reverse, and of the death of these dear friends, which he received early through a confidential messenger, he proceeded to the house of Jáfar. His widow, Asma, tells us that she had just bathed and dressed her little ones when the Prophet entered, and calling for them, embraced the children tenderly, and burst into a flood of tears. Asma guessed the truth, and wailed loudly. A crowd of women soon gathering around her, Mahomet left the place, and returning to his own family, desired them to send provisions to Jáfar's house. "No food," he said, "will be prepared there this day; for they are sunk in grief at the loss of their master." He then went to the house of Zeid; and Zeid's little daughter rushed into his arms, crying bitterly. At this sight, Mahomet was overcome by tender emotion, and he

* For the age of Zeid, see vol. ii. pp. 47-50. Nothing is said about his wife, Mahomet's nurse, Omm Ayman, who must now have been very old.

wept until he sobbed aloud. A bystander, thinking to check his grief, said to him. "Why is this, O Prophet?"—"This," he replied, "is the fond yearning in the heart of friend for friend."*

Martyrdom of Farwa.

In connection with the battle of Mûta, I may mention here the story of Farwa, an Arab of the

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 125½, 187½, 282½; *Hishâmi*, 350. The popular tradition is that Mahomet had supernatural information of the reverse *instantly* communicated to him; that he explained to those round about him the incidents of the battle, *as they were occurring at the moment;* and that, on going to Jáfar's widow, he told her that her husband had been killed *that day*. At the moment when Jáfar seized the falling standard, Mahomet called aloud to his companions, announcing to them the fact, and saying: "Verily, just now the war is waxing hot!" These fictions have probably grown out of the private nature and speedy arrival of the first message sent by Khâlid to the Prophet.

The following tradition, though very loose on other points, is probably accurate on this. Abu Aâmir relates that Mahomet sent him to Syria: on his way back, he passed the battle-field, and watched the fate of the Moslems. He saw their leaders fall, and the army pursued and scattered. But Khâlid rallied them, and they pursued and slew the Romans:—"Then I went to Mahomet *and gave him tidings of the event*, and it grieved him sore, so that after the mid-day prayer, instead of conversing (as was his wont) with the people, he returned straightway to his house; and so he did at the other prayers that day.

But next morning, he entered smiling into the Mosque, and when the people accosted him he said:—"That which ye saw in me yesterday was because of sorrow for the slaughter of my companions, until I saw them in Paradise, seated as brethren, one opposite to the other, upon couches. And in some I perceived marks, as it were wounds of the sword. And I saw Jáfar, an angel with two wings, covered with blood,—his limbs stained therewith." Thenceforward Jáfar is known as "the winged Martyr." *K. Wâckidi*, 126.

Bani Judzâm, and Governor of Ammân, who is represented by tradition (though upon imperfect evidence) as one of the early martyrs. He sent a despatch announcing his conversion to Mahomet, with several presents,—a white mule, a horse, an ass, and raiment wrought with gold. The presents were graciously acknowledged in a letter from the Prophet, which contained directions for the spiritual guidance of the new convert. The Roman government heard of his defection, and sought to bribe the renegade, by offers of promotion, to return to the Christian faith. He refused, and was put to death.*

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 50½, 55, 68½; *Hishâmi*, 429. I give the tradition in the shape in which I find it, without being able to say to what extent it is founded in fact. The reply of Farwa to the Emperor is in the stereotyped traditional style:—"I will not quit the faith of Mahomet. Thou thyself knowest that Jesus prophesied before of him. But as for thee, the fear of losing thy kingdom deterreth thee from confessing the new faith." He was crucified.

He may have been put to death as a rebel or a traitor. I have no means of fixing the date of the event. M. C. de Perceval is of opinion that it took place after the battle of Mûta, as a punishment for Farwa's defection.

Theophanes mentions about this period the secession of the Arabs employed in guarding the Syrian frontier, as occasioned by the insolent refusal of a Roman officer to pay them their perquisites. On this they are said to have organized an attack on Ghaza from Sinai. Such a movement may have occurred in connection with the numerous accessions to Mahomet's cause about this time, and the expedition to Tabûk next year. *M. C. de Perceval*, iii. 216; *Theophanes*, 278-9.

Amru, reinforced by Abu Obeida, restores the prestige of Mahomet on the Syrian borders. 2nd Jumâd, A.H. VIII. October, A.D. 629.

The repulse of his army from Mûta affected dangerously the prestige of Mahomet among the tribes of the Syrian frontier. There were rumours that the Bani Codhâa* had assembled in great force, and were even threatening a descent upon Medîna. Amru, the new convert, was therefore placed at the head of three hundred men, including thirty horse, with instructions to subjugate the hostile tribes in that quarter, and incite those whom he found friendly to harass the Syrian border.† The name and ability of Amru justified the selection; being, moreover, connected with the Bani Balî, a powerful community in the vicinity of the field of operations, he was possessed of personal influence which would aid in effecting the objects of the campaign.‡ In the event of serious opposition, he was to call upon those Arabs who had already tendered their submission, to come to his aid.§ After a march of ten days he encamped at a spring called Salâsil, near the Syrian confines.‖ There he found that the enemy were assembled in vast numbers, and that he

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* The Bani Odzra, Balî, Bahrâ, &c. See *Table*, vol. i. p. cxlix.

† The former object is mentioned by the Secretary, p. 126; the latter by *Hishâmi*, p. 443. Both objects were probably intended by Mahomet.

‡ His father's mother was of the Bani Balî. *Hishâmi*, p. 443.

§ They are named as the Bani Balî, B. Odzra, and tribes of Balcâa.

‖ It is variously called a spring of the B. Odzra, or of the Bani Judzâm.

could look for but little aid from the local tribes. He halted and despatched a messenger for reinforcements. Mahomet at once complied, and sent two hundred men (among whom were Abu Bakr and Omar) under command of Abu Obeida ibn al Jarrâh. On joining Amru, Abu Obeida wished to assume the leadership of the whole force, or at the least to retain the chief authority over his own detachment; but Amru, giving promise of that decision and firmness which characterized him in after days, insisted on retaining the sole command. Abu Obeida, a man of mild and pliant temper, succumbed. "If thou refusest to acknowledge my authority," he said, "I have no resource but to obey thee; for the Prophet strictly charged me to suffer no altercation, nor any division of command." Amru replied imperiously: "I am the chief over thee. Thou hast only brought a reinforcement to my army." "Be it so," said Abu Obeida. Amru then assumed command of the united troops, and led their prayers. Thus early were the spiritual functions in Islam indissolubly blended with the political and military.

Strengthened by this addition to his forces, Amru went forward. He passed through the territories of the Bani Odzra and Balî, receiving their allegiance: when he reached their farther limits, the enemy which had assembled to oppose him fled in alarm. Thus Amru had the satisfaction of despatching a messenger to announce to Mahomet the complete success of his first campaign, and the re-establish-

ment of the Prophet's influence on the frontier of Syria. He then returned to Medîna.

Expedition of the Fish. Rajab, A.H. VIII. November, A.D. 629.

In the month following, to compensate Abu Obeida for his disappointment in giving up the command to Amru, Mahomet sent him at the head of three hundred men to chastise a refractory branch of the Bani Joheina on the sea-coast. There was no fighting in this expedition, but it has become famous from the occurrence of a curious incident. Provisions failed, and the troops were already well nigh famished, when to their joy a prodigious fish was cast opportunely on the shore, and sufficed amply to relieve their hunger.*

Raid upon the B. Khudhra. Shabân, VIII. Decr. 629.

There was one other petty expedition during the winter against a tribe of the Ghatafân, in Najd, which yielded large plunder in camels, flocks, and prisoners.†

Various tribes tender their submission.

Besides the Bedouin tribes in the direction of Syria gained over by the success of Amru, several others now gave in their adhesion to Mahomet. Among these were the Bani Abs, Murra, and Dzobian; and the Bani Fezâra with their chief Uyeina, who had

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* The Secretary (p. 126), relates the story as in the text; but Hishâmi deals in extravagancies. The whole army, which had been reduced to a famishing state, fed for twenty days upon it, and from being lean and famished became strong and fat. One of its bones, being set up as an arch, a camel with its rider passed under without touching it, &c., p. 450.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 126½. The object is not stated. A fair damsel fell to the lot of the leader, Abu Cotâda. He presented her to Mahomet, who again gave her to one of his followers.

so long caused anxiety and alarm at Medîna. The Bani Suleim,* a powerful tribe in the Hejâz, which, like the Fezâra, had taken part in the siege of Medîna, also joined the cause of Islam about this time; they engaged to bring, when called upon, one thousand men into the field. Most of the tribes in the vicinity of Medîna, as the Bani Aslam and Ghifâr, the Mozeina, Ashjâ, and Joheina, had already recognized the supremacy of Mahomet.† The courteous treatment which the deputations of these various clans experienced from the Prophet, his ready attention to their grievances, the wisdom with which he composed their disputes, and the politic assignments of territory by which he rewarded an early declara-

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* *Vide supra*, p. 90, *and refl. quoted there.*

† The Bani Ashjâ, who had joined in the siege of Medîna, gave in their adhesion shortly after the massacre of the Coreitza; they told Mahomet that they were so pressed by his warring against them, that they could stand out no longer. *K. Wâckidi*, p. 60. In the Secretary's chapter of "Deputations from the Tribes," &c., the Bani Ashâr from Jedda, the B. Khushain, and the B. Dous, came to Mahomet at Kheibar, the latter with sixty or seventy followers, to all of whom were assigned shares in the booty. *Ibid.* 67, 68, 121. The Bani Sâd ibn Bakr came over, A.H. V.; p. 58½. The B. Thalaba, A.H. VIII. *Ibid.* The B. Abd al Keis (partly at least Christian) from Bahrein, in the same year. *Ibid.* 61½. The B. Judzâm also in that year. The chief of the latter tribe carried back to them a letter from Mahomet, of this tenor: —"Whoever accepteth the call to Islam, he is amongst the confederates of the Lord: whoever refuseth the same, a truce of two months is allowed him for consideration." All the tribes of the vicinity accepted the invitation. *Ibid.* 68½.

tion in favour of Islam, made his name to be popular, and spread his fame as a great and generous Prince throughout the Peninsula. And the accession of so many tribes enabled him, whenever the occasion might require it, to call into the field a far more imposing force than he had ever before aspired to command.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOURTH.

The Conquest of Mecca. Ramadhân, A.H. VIII. *January,* A.D. 630.

Ætat. 61.

THE truce of Hodeibia had been now nearly two years in force, when the alleged infraction of its terms by the Coreish afforded Mahomet a fair pretext for attempting the grand object of his ambition, the conquest of Mecca. Pretext arises for attacking Mecca.

The Bani Khozâa, as before noticed, acting on the discretion allowed by the treaty, had declared themselves the partisans of Mahomet; while the Bani Bakr had ranged themselves on the side of the Coreish.* Both tribes inhabited Mecca or its adjoining valleys. There had been sanguinary feuds of old standing between them, and though these paled before the excitement of the war with Mahomet, the murders which had been committed on either side still rankled in their breasts. The peace of Hodeibia allowed the Bani Bakr again to brood over their The Bani Bakr attack the Bani Khozâa. Shabân, A.H. VIII. Decr. A.D. 629.

* See above, p. 41.

wrongs, and they sought opportunity to make reprisals. Aided by some of the chief men of the Coreish,* who disguised themselves, they attacked by night an unsuspecting encampment of the Khozâa, and slew several of them.

The Khozâa appeal to Mahomet, who promises aid.

A deputation of forty men from the injured tribe, mounted on camels, hastened to Medîna, spread their wrongs before the Prophet, and pleaded that the treacherous murders might be avenged. Entreaty was little needed. The opportunity long expected had at last arrived. Starting up, with his raiment yet ungirded,† he pledged himself to the suppliants thus:—"If I assist you not with the same aid as if the cause were mine own, then let me never more be assisted by the Lord!" A cloud at the moment chanced to overshadow the heavens; accepting the augury, Mahomet added:—"As the rain poureth down from yonder cloud, even so shall succour descend upon the Khozâa from above."‡

Unsuccessful mission of Abu Sofiân to Medîna.

The Coreish, aware of this deputation, were thrown into great alarm. They despatched Abu Sofiân to Medîna in the hope of renewing and extending the

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* Safwân ibn Omeya, Iluweitib, and Mikraz, are mentioned by the Secretary as the chiefs of the Coreish who were concerned in this attack, p. 126¼. M. C. de Perceval adds Ikrima son of Abu Jahl, iii. 220.

† Tradition adds this feature to show the eagerness of his response.

‡ The Bani Kâb, a sub-tribe of the Khozâa, is the one mentioned in this interview.

compact of peace. On his way, he met Bodeil, a friendly Khozâite, who was returning from Medîna after an interview with Mahomet.* The mission of Abu Sofiân was not followed by any satisfactory result. He could gain from Mahomet no promise, nor any assurance of pacific intentions. Foiled in his endeavours, he took the only course open to him of expressing the friendly relations which the Coreish desired to maintain. He stood up in the court of the great Mosque, and cried aloud:— "Hearken unto me, ye people! Peace and protection I guarantee for all." To which Mahomet answered: "It is thou that sayest this, not any one of us, O Abu Sofiân." Thereupon he departed home to Mecca, and reported the affair to the Coreish. They perceived that they were in an evil plight; but they did not suspect that Mahomet had any immediate designs against them.†

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* The same Bodeil who had been one of the ambassadors of the Coreish at Hodeibia. See above, p. 28. Hishâmi says that Bodeil denied to Abu Sofiân that he had been to Medîna, and that Abu Sofiân discovered the truth by the same process pursued by him before at Badr. See vol. iii. p. 88. But it will be seen below that there are reasons for suspecting collusion between Abu Sofiân and Bodeil. Whether the collusion began at this interview, or upon Abu Sofiân's return to Mecca, I cannot say. *K. Wâckidi*, 126½.

† The Abbasside current of tradition delights, as before explained, to cast contumely on Abu Sofiân. On the present occasion it turns him into a laughing-stock. But from what will be noticed below, there will be seen some ground for supposing that communications of a less unfriendly character than those here represented, passed between him and the Prophet.

Preparations for an advance upon Mecca.

Mahomet had already resolved to make a grand attack upon his native city. But he kept his counsel secret as long as it was possible.* To divert atten-

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The following tradition is from *Hishâmi*, p. 354, but is not given by the Secretary:—"Arrived at Medîna, Abu Sofiân entered the house of his daughter Omm Habîba, Mahomet's wife. He was about to seat himself on the carpet or rug spread upon the floor, when she hastily drew it away and folded it up. "My daughter!" he said, "whether is it that thou thinkest the carpet is too good for me, or that I am too good for the carpet?" "Nay, but it is the carpet of the Prophet," she replied; "and I choose not that thou, an impure idolater, shouldst sit upon the Prophet's carpet." "Truly, my daughter, thou art changed for the worse since thou leftest me." So saying, he went straight to Mahomet, but could get no reply from his lips. Omar, to whom he next addressed himself, received him with indignation. Ali was more cordial:—"Let me not go back unsuccessful as I came," urged Abu Sofiân; "intercede for me with the Prophet." "Alas for thee!" said Ali; "truly, the Prophet hath resolved on a thing concerning which we may not speak with thee." Then Abu Sofiân adjured Fâtima (Ali's wife) to let her little son Hasan take him under his protection, "and he will be the Lord of the Arabs till the end of time." But she told him that no one could be his protector against Mahomet. On this, he besought Ali for his advice. Ali said that he saw no other course for him, but to arise and call aloud that he took all parties under the guarantee of his protection:—"But will this benefit me at all?" "Nay, I do not say so, but I see nothing else for thee." Having followed this advice, Abu Sofiân returned to Mecca, and told the Coreish what he had done. "But did Mahomet sanction thy guarantee?" asked they. He replied in the negative. "Out upon thee!" they cried; "this will not benefit us at all; the man meant only to make sport of thee." "I know it," said Abu Sofiân, "but I could think of nothing else to do." The Alyite tendency will be observed strongly developed throughout this tradition.

* *Hishâmi*, 355. Even Abu Bakr was kept in ignorance of it. Entering Ayesha's house, he found her busy preparing the

tion, he despatched a small body of men under Abu Cotâda in another direction.* Meanwhile, he summoned all his allies amongst the Bedouin tribes to join him at Medîna, or to meet him at certain convenient points, which he indicated to them, on the road to Mecca. At the latest moment he ordered his followers in the city to arm themselves, announced his intentions to them, and enjoined on all the urgent command that no hint regarding his hostile designs should in any way reach Mecca. To this effect he prayed publicly:—"*O Lord! Let not any spy draw near with tidings unto the Coreish: take away their sight, that they see me not until I come suddenly upon them and seize them unawares!*†

Hâtib's endeavour to communicate the intelligence to his family at Mecca, frustrated.

Notwithstanding this injunction, Hâtib, one of Mahomet's most trusted followers,‡ despatched privately a female messenger with a letter to his friends in Mecca, containing intimation of the intended assault. Information of this soon came to the ears

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accoutrements of the Prophet; and inquiring the cause, was told that an expedition had been resolved on, but she did not know in what direction.

* This covert design is distinctly stated by the Secretary. *K. Wâckidi*, 126½. The expedition was sent to the valley of Idham, between Dzu Khashab and Dzu Marwa, three marches from Medîna. There was no fighting on this occasion, as the tribe at once embraced Islam. On their way back, they received intimation that Mahomet had already left for Mecca, and they hastened to join him.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 126.

‡ He had been Mahomet's ambassador to Egypt.

of the Prophet, and he sent Ali with Zobeir in pursuit of the messenger. They overtook her, and after a long search discovered the letter carefully hidden in her locks. Hâtib excused himself by the natural desire he had to save his unprotected family at Mecca; and the plea, in view of his former services, was graciously accepted.*

The army marches. Ramadhân, A.H. VIII. January, A.D. 630.

On the 10th of Ramadhân, the 1st January, A.D. 630, the army commenced its march. It was the largest force Medîna had ever seen. The tents of the Bedouin auxiliaries darkened the plain for miles around, and several important tribes fell in with Mahomet on the line of march. Two of these, the Mozeina and Suleim, contributed each a thousand soldiers.† Mahomet now found himself at the head of between eight and ten thousand men. Two of his wives, Zeinab and Omm Salmâ, accompanied him.‡ The march was made with such rapidity,

* *K. Wâckidi*, 126. The Secretary says nothing more. But Hishâmi, as is his wont, deals in the supernatural, and says that Mahomet had information of the despatch of the letter "from the Heavens." The opening verses of the Sixtieth Sura are said to refer to Hâtib; but they appear to have a *general* bearing against too great intimacy with the Coreish during the truce, and to be therefore of a prior date. *Hishâmi*, 355.

† The tribes specified by Hishâmi and the Secretary are the B. Suleim, Mozeina, Ghifâr (four hundred strong), Aslam (four hundred), Ashjâ, Joheina, Tamîm, Cays, Asad.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 123; *Hishâmi*, 371. Omm Salmâ seems to have been the favourite companion of Mahomet on his marches. Ayesha is not mentioned as accompanying him after the affair in the expedition against the B. Mustalick.

that the army encamped at Marr al Tzahrân, one stage from Mecca, on the seventh or eighth day.*

Abbâs joins Mahomet.

Meanwhile, Abbâs had joined Mahomet on the road. The traditions of the Abbassides, of course, claim him as having been long a true believer, and class him among the exiles from Mecca,—the Refugees,—whose favoured number was now about to close.† But Abbâs was only worldly wise. He had waited till the supremacy of his nephew was beyond a doubt; and now, at the last moment, when there was no merit in the act, openly espoused his cause. Nevertheless, he was welcomed by the Prophet with favour and affection.‡

Abu Sofiân visits the camp of Mahomet.

And now we come to a curious and somewhat mysterious passage in the campaign. Mahomet commanded his followers that every one should kindle a fire that night on the heights above the camp. Ten thousand fires soon blazed on the mountain tops of

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 128. The Secretary says he was seven days on the road. One tradition, however, represents him as leaving Medîna on the 6th Ramadhân; and another makes the occupation of Mecca take place ten days before the end of that month, which would allow a much longer period for the road.

† After Mecca had become subject to Mahomet, there was, of course, no longer any merit in emigrating to Medîna. Abbâs is therefore held to have been the last of the Refugees.

‡ He is said to have joined Mahomet at Johfa, near Râbigh, about half-way between Medîna and Mecca. It is highly probable that he came by previous appointment. Abbasside tradition naturally makes every thing as favourable to Abbâs as possible. The truth is (see vol. ii. p. 234, and iii. p. 153), that he always sailed

Marr al Tzahrân. The Prophet trusted that this first intimation of his approach would burst upon the city with alarming grandeur, and prove the hopelessness of opposition. No certain information of the march of Mahomet from Medîna had yet reached the Coreish. Their enemy had carefully cut off all sources of intelligence, and it is not improbable that there were traitors within Mecca itself who sought to lull suspicion. At last the chief men became uneasy at the portentous calm, broken only by vague reports of a coming storm; and they sent forth Abu Sofiân to reconnoitre. In the evening, accompanied by Hakîm (the nephew of Khadîja, who had shown kindness to Mahomet when shut up with Abu Tâlib), and Bodeil the Khozâite chief, Abu Sofiân sallied forth on the Medîna road. The fires on the mountain tops began to appear in full sight, and

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with wind and tide. It is quite possible that ever since the treaty, and especially since the Pilgrimage, he may have been in collusion with Mahomet, and secretly forwarding his cause at Mecca.

Two other persons of some note also tendered allegiance to Mahomet on the march: Abu Sofiân, son of Mahomet's uncle Hârith, and Abdallah ibn Abi Omeya, son of Mahomet's aunt Atika, and brother of his wife Omm Salmâ. Omm Salmâ interceded for them; but Mahomet at first refused to receive them. Both had incurred his severe displeasure,—the former having, in company with Amru and Abdallah ibn Zibara, greatly annoyed him with their satires; and the latter having also been a keen opponent. Abu Sofiân, being repulsed, declared that he would go forth into the desert with his little son, and that there they would both die of hunger; whereat Mahomet relented. *Hishâmi*, 357.

to engage their speculations, when suddenly, in the dark, a stranger approached, and thus accosted Abu Sofiân: "Abu Hantzala!* Is it thy voice I hear?" "Yes, I am he," said Abu Sofiân; "and what hast thou left behind thee?" "Yonder," replied the stranger, "is Mahomet encamped with ten thousand followers. See ye not the myriad fires which they have kindled in their camp? Believe and cast in thy lot with us, else thy mother and thy house shall weep for thee!" It was Abbâs who spoke. Mounted on the Prophet's white mule, he had issued forth (tradition tells us), hoping that he might meet some wayfarer on the road, and send him to the Coreish, if haply they would come and sue for peace, and thus save Mecca from destruction. "Seat thee upon the mule behind me," continued Abbâs. "I will conduct thee to the Prophet, and thou shalt seek for quarter from him." They were soon at the tent of Mahomet. Abbâs entered, and acquainted him with the arrival of his distinguished friend:—"Take him to thy tent, Abbâs," replied the Prophet; "and in the morning come to me with him again." In the morning accordingly they sought the Prophet's tent:—"*Out upon thee, Abu Sofiân!*" cried Mahomet as the Coreishite chief drew near. *Hast thou not yet discovered that there is no God but the Lord alone?*" "Noble and generous Sire! Had there been any

* Abu Sofiân was so called after his son, Hantzala.

God beside, verily he had been of some avail to me." —"*And dost thou not acknowledge that I am the Prophet of the Lord?*" continued Mahomet. "Noble Sire! As to this thing, there is yet in my heart some hesitancy."* "Wo is thee!" exclaimed Abbâs; "it is no time for hesitancy, this. Believe and testify at once the creed of Islam, or else thy head shall be severed from thy body!" It was, indeed, no time for idle pride or scruple; and so Abu Sofiân, seeing no alternative left to him, repeated the formula of belief in God and in his Prophet. What a moment of exultation it must have been for Mahomet when he saw the great leader of the Coreish a suppliant believer at his feet! "Haste thee to Mecca!" he said; for he knew well when to show forbearance and generosity. "Haste thee to the city: no one that taketh refuge in the house of Abu Sofiân shall be harmed. And hearken! speak unto the people, that whoever closeth the door of his house, the inmates thereof shall escape." Abu Sofiân hastened to retire. But before he could quit the camp, the forces were already under arms, and were being marshalled in their respective columns. Standing by Abbâs, he watched in amazement the various tribes, each defiling with

* *Hishâmi*, 359. This conversation with Mahomet is not given by the Secretary. It is very uncertain; but it is interesting, and not improbably founded on fact. An episode in which Omar interfered, wishing to strike off Abu Sofiân's head, is certainly apocryphal; he is always introduced by tradition with this speech ready made.

the banner given to it by Mahomet, into its proper place. One by one, the different clans were pointed out by name, and recognized. "And what is that black mass," asked Abu Sofiân, "with dark mail and shining lances?" "It is the flower of the chivalry of Mecca and Medîna," replied Abbâs,—"the favoured band that guards the person of the Prophet." "Truly," exclaimed the astonished chief, "this kingdom of thy uncle's is a mighty kingdom." "Nay, Abu Sofiân! he is more than a king,—he is a mighty Prophet!" "Yes; thou sayest truly. Now let me go." "Away!" said Abbâs. "Speed thee to thy people!"

Abu Sofiân carries a message of quarter to Mecca.

Abu Sofiân hurried back to Mecca, and as he entered the city, he shouted at the pitch of his voice: "Ye Coreish! Mahomet is close upon us. He hath an army which ye are not able to withstand. Whoever entereth the house of Abu Sofiân shall be safe; and whoever shutteth his door upon him shall be safe; and whosoever entereth the holy House shall be safe!" So the people fled in all directions to their houses, and to the Kâaba.*

Was there collusion between Abu

Such is the account given by tradition. But beneath the narrative, I find symptoms of a previous

* *Hishâmi*, p. 360. Hind, the wife of Abu Sofiân, is represented as seizing him by the hair of his head and face, when she heard the words of his proclamation, and abusing him thus:—"Away with this fat fellow from the earth!" On which he repeated that it was in vain to try and deceive themselves, for the force moving upon them was irresistible. But the traditions about Hind must be received with caution.

Sofiân and Mahomet?

understanding between Mahomet and Abu Sofiân. Whether there was any collusion so early as the visit of Abu Sofiân to Medîna, whether Abbâs was charged by the chiefs of Mecca with the conduct of negotiations with the Prophet, and from which side the overtures first came, can be matter for conjecture only. But there seems strong reason to believe that the meeting by night of Abu Sofiân with Abbâs was a concerted measure, not the result of accident. That Abu Sofiân, wearied with the long protracted struggle between the Prophet and his people,—a struggle now about to be renewed with all the prospects of internecine strife; assured, from what he saw and heard at Medîna, that the chances of victory lay on Mâhomet's side; and anxious to avert a bloody battle,—conspired to lull alarm and prevent a timely and a general rising at Mecca against the invader, seems to me hardly less evident. As hereditary leader of the Coreîsh, he possessed more influence to effect that object than any other chief at Mecca, and of his influence Mahomet willingly availed himself. To the treason, or the patriotism, of Abu Sofiân, it is mainly due that the submission of Mecca was secured with scarcely any bloodshed. Such at least is the conclusion which I draw from the garbled tale of tradition.*

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* I have reserved my reasons for a note:—

1. Abbâs evidently went forth from the camp at Marr al Tzahrân by the authority of Mahomet. He rode upon his mule. He went,

To return to the camp of Mahomet. The army was now in full march on Mecca. It was an hour

The army moves forward upon Mecca.

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it is said, with the intention of meeting "some hewer of wood or seller of milk," whom he might send into the city to announce the arrival of the army, in the hope that the citizens would come out and sue for terms. Would he have dared to enter even on such a mission, without Mahomet's knowledge, seeing that up to this time every effort had been made to keep the expedition secret? Such being the case, it is hardly to be supposed that he would go forth towards Mecca, in the dark, on the mere chance of falling in with some wayfarer to send in as a messenger to the city. He surely must have had some more settled expectation than this.

2. The companions of Abu Sofiân were Hakîm, a Coreishite, whose antecedents inclined him towards Mahomet, and Bodeil, a Khozâite chief, *an ally of Mahomet*, who had gone to Medîna to consult with him.

3. Abu Sofiân must have had some knowledge of the approach of Mahomet to induce him to go out at all. It is pretended that he was entirely unaware of Mahomet's advance, and at first fancied the fires to be those of a Khozâite encampment. Then why was he deputed by the chiefs of Mecca to go and procure terms from Mahomet?—"If ye meet Mahomet," said these chiefs to Abu Sofiân, "take from him a pledge for our security." *K. Wâckidi*, 127. The approach of the Prophet was thus clearly known in *some* circles at Mecca.

4. The happily timed meeting of Abu Sofiân and Abbâs; their sudden recognition in the dark; the ready consent of Abu Sofiân to proceed straight to the tent of Mahomet, and from an enemy to become his subservient follower (and that, too, before he had seen the extent of his force), all tend to strengthen the idea that there was a previous understanding. Otherwise, the first impulse of Abu Sofiân would surely have been to rush back, rouse the threatened city, and organize some means of defence, rather than go on and spend the night quietly in the enemy's camp.

5. The armed opposition offered at one of the approaches of the city, shows the spirit that still dwelt in Mecca, even when opposition must have been seen to be hopeless. There is no doubt

of deep anxiety for the Prophet. But when he reached the plain of Dzu Towa near the city, it became evident that his precautions had been

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that unless Abu Sofiân, and one or two other influential men, had so acted as to quiet suspicion, the city would have bristled with arms, as it did two years before, when Mahomet came with peaceful, and not as now with hostile, intentions. Where were the Bani Bakr and the numerous citizens who had good reason to dread the vengeance of Mahomet?

6. Mahomet *forbade* fighting. Would he have done so unless he had had some special assurance that there would be no opposition? When he perceived that fighting was going on in one quarter, he exclaimed in anger,—"What, did I not forbid it?" Would his surprise be at all natural, unless he had had some understanding with the influential men of Mecca?

It may be alleged that he took the city by surprise, and (then, when within one march of Mecca, and no time was left for an organized attack), sent a message of peace, which the people had no option but to accept. But even supposing it possible, which I doubt, to conceal from all the chiefs of Mecca, the approach of ten thousand men along the high road to Syria, no long preparation was required for Arab warfare; and at the notice of a few hours, the population would have armed and gone forth as before, "clothed in panthers' skins, and swearing rather to die than yield," had there not been some counter influence among their leaders. A severe struggle might naturally have been looked for, and had there been no previous understanding, Mahomet *would have expected it.* That he did not, establishes a strong presumption of extensive collusion.

The strongest objection to the views above suggested, is that there is no mention made in tradition of such collusion; and that the friends of Abu Sofiân did not perpetuate the knowledge of a fact (according to Moslem ideas), so meritorious. But the proceedings were necessarily secret, and the strong current of Abbasside tradition naturally gives the credit of Abu Sofiân's visit *entirely to Abbâs*, making Abu Sofiân a mere passive tool, who was frightened by menaces into the profession of Islam.

effectual. Had any general opposition been organized to check his farther progress, this was the place where a stand would have been made; yet no army appeared in sight. In token of his gratitude, he bowed low upon his camel, and offered up to God a prayer of thanksgiving. The troops were told off in four divisions, and to each was assigned a different road, by which they were simultaneously to advance upon the city. They now separated to perform their several parts, with strict injunctions from Mahomet not to fight or offer violence to any one. Zobeir, leading the left battalion, was to enter from the north. Khâlid, with the Bedouin tribes, was on the right; passing the city on the west, he was to make his way into the southern or lower suburbs. The men of Medîna under Sád ibn Obâda, were to force their way into the western quarter. Abu Obeida, commanding the Refugees, and followed by Mahomet himself, took the nearest road skirting the hill of Jebel Hind.* This disposition of his forces was wisely made: if opposition were offered to any column, one of the other divisions would be at hand to take the enemy in the rear. As Sád led on the citizens of Medîna, he sang: "To-day is the day of slaughter; there is no security this

* See the plan of Mecca, vol. i. p. 5. Mahomet's column apparently came by the route marked "modern road to Jedda cut through the hill by steps," or by some similar pathway. See further, note below, p. 125.

day for Mecca!" Hearing these martial and vindictive words, and apprehending evil from the fiery temper of Sád, Mahomet took the Medîna banner from his hands, and gave it to Cayŷs, his son—a person of towering stature, but of milder disposition than his father.*

Abu Cuhâfa watches the advance of the Moslem army.

About this time, an old man, blind and decrepit, might have been seen climbing with the help of his daughter one of the heights of Abu Cobeis, which overhang the city. It was Abu Cuhâfa, the aged parent of Abu Bakr. To his frequent inquiry whether anything was yet in sight, the maiden at last replied: "A dark moving mass has just emerged from yonder valley." "It is the Army!" said the aged man. "And now I see a figure hasting to and fro amid the columns of that mass."—"This is the leader marshalling the force." "But the blackness is dispersing rapidly. It spreads"—continued the girl. "Ah! then the Army is advancing!" exclaimed Abu Cuhâfa. "Haste thee, my daughter, and lead me to my house." It was full time to do so, for the troops were already sweeping along the approaches to the town on every side; and a rude assailant snatched the maiden's silver necklace from her neck while she was yet guiding her father's tottering steps toward their home.

* Hishâmi makes the standard to have been made over to Ali; but, besides that the Secretary is decisively in favour of the statement in the text, it is not likely that the Medîna standard would have been given to any one but a citizen of Medîna.

The several columns entered peaceably, excepting that of Khâlid. On the road by which he was to approach, the bitterest of Mahomet's enemies, and those most deeply implicated in the attack upon the Bani Khozâa, had taken up a defensive position, or perhaps in despair they were preparing for a hasty flight towards the sea-shore. They were led by Safwân, Suheil, and Ikrima son of Abu Jahl. As the battalion of Khâlid appeared in view, it was saluted by a discharge of arrows. But Khâlid was ready to receive his opponents, and soon put them all to flight. Flushed with success, and unmindful of the Prophet's order, he pursued with his wild Bedouins the fugitive Coreish into the streets of Mecca. The leaders escaped; but eight-and-twenty citizens were killed in the conflict. Khâlid lost only two men.*

Khâlid encounters opposition, and pursues his enemy into Mecca.

As this encounter was going forward, Mahomet, following the column of the Refugees, crossed the

Mahomet's concern at this encounter.

* Hishami says twelve or thirteen men were killed. The Secretary more accurately gives the number at twenty-four of the Coreish, and four of the Hodzeil. The two men killed on Khâlid's side, Kurz ibn Jâbir (the Arab who attacked Medina, vol. iii. p. 68), and a Khozâite, are said to have lost their way, and to have thus fallen into the enemy's hands. The absence of other casualties on the side of Mahomet shows the defence to have been hasty, and entirely wanting in solidity and organization. If the army was expected by this road, and a defence was really intended, one would have looked for some more effective effort than this.

The road to Jedda and Yemen led out from this quarter, so that the supposition of flight being contemplated by the leaders and their followers is also tenable.

eminence of Adzâkhir, and a full view of the valley burst upon him. But his pleasure at the grateful prospect was at once turned into concern as his eye caught the gleaming of swords on the farther side of the city, and the troops of Khâlid in pursuit. "What!" he cried in surprise and anger, "did I not strictly command that there should not be any fighting?" The cause was soon explained, and Mahomet said,— "That which the Lord decreeth is the best." *

Mahomet reposes in his tent.

From the pass, Mahomet descended into the valley, at a spot not far from the tombs of Abu Tâlib and Khadîja. He was there joined by the division of Zobeir, and having assured himself that Mecca was now wholly at his will, he directed his tent of leather to be pitched in the open space to the north of the city.† "Wilt thou not alight at thine own house?" inquired his followers. "Not so," he said, "for have

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 127; *Hishâmi*, 361.

† See the map, v. i. p. 5. The pathway north of Jebel Hind brought him into the valley near the burying ground of Al Juhûn; a little below this he pitched his tent, and the two northern divisions of the army encamped. The two other divisions were probably encamped to the south of the city.

The tradition of the Prophet's route is still retained, though in a loose and inaccurate form. "Mounting our animals," says Burton, "we followed the road to the Jannat al Maala, the sacred cemetery of Mecca. A rough wall, with a poor gateway, encloses a patch of barren and grim-looking ground, at the foot of the chain which bounds the city's western suburb; and below Al Akaba, the gap through which Khâlid bin Walid entered Mecca with the triumphant Prophet." As regards Khâlid, this (as will have been seen from the text) is wrong. Vol. iii. p. 349.

they left me yet any house within the city?"* The great banner was planted at the door of his tent, and Mahomet entered to repose, and to reflect on the accomplishment of the dream of his life. The abused, rejected, exiled, Prophet now saw the city at his feet. Mahomet was lord of Mecca.

Worships at the Kâaba, and destroys the idols there.

But Mahomet did not long repose. Again mounted on Al Caswa, he proceeded to the Kâaba, reverently saluted with his staff the sacred stone, and made the seven circuits of the temple. Then pointing with the same staff one by one to the numerous idols placed around, he commanded that they should be hewn down. The great image of Hobal, reared as the tutelary deity of Mecca in front of the Kâaba, shared the common fate. "Truth hath come," exclaimed Mahomet, as it fell with a crash to the ground, "and falsehood hath vanished; for falsehood is evanescent."† Going now to the *Station of Abraham*, twenty or thirty paces from the Kâaba,‡ he bowed himself in worship; and sitting down, he

* *K. Wâckidi*, 227. The original is "Hath Ackîl left for me yet any house?" Ackîl, the son of Abu Tâlib, had probably taken possession of all the family property at Mecca.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 127, quoted from *Sura*, xvii. 82. Tradition says that there were three hundred and sixty idols ranged round the Kâaba, and that as Mahomet pointed to each in succession with his staff, reciting the verse above quoted, the idol fell forwards on its face. The use of a metaphorical expression in describing the actual scene would easily give rise to these tales.

‡ See the Plate II. vol. ii. p. 18; and the account of the Kâaba, pp. 34, *et seq.* (where the Plate should have been inserted).

sent Bilâl to summon Othmân ibn Talha with the key of the temple. When it was brought, he took the key, and opening therewith the door of the Kâaba, he entered and again performed devout prostrations. He then returned to the doorway, and standing upon the elevated step seized hold of the two rings attached to the door, and gazed around on the multitude which thronged below. "Othmân ibn Talha!" he called aloud,—"here. take back the key to be kept in custody by thee and thy posterity, —an hereditary and perpetual office. No one shall take it from thee save the unjust.—And thou Abbas," turning to his uncle,—"I confirm thee in the office of giving drink unto the pilgrims: it is no mean privilege this which I give now unto thee."*

Mahomet's attachment to Mecca.

Having destroyed the images and obliterated the pictures of Abraham and of the angels which, it is said, covered the walls of the Kâaba,† Mahomet

* Hishâmi represents Ali as standing with the key before Mahomet, and urging that the custody of the Kâaba should be conferred on him. The request was refused, on the ground that Mahomet wished to settle everything on its previous basis;—"it is for me a day of kindness and fulfilment of claims." This is evidently an Alyite tradition to excuse Ali's having been passed over in the assignment of these offices.

† It is said that Omar was sent to perform this task, and that Mahomet did not enter the Kâaba until every picture had been erased. *K. Wâckidi*, 128½. Hishâmi adds that the first thing Mahomet saw on entering was the wooden figure of a dove, which he broke with his own hands. On the wall, beside the angels, was a figure of Abraham in the act of divining by arrows, at the sight of which Mahomet was greatly indignant. *Hishâmi*, 364.

sent a crier through the streets of Mecca with this proclamation,—"Whoever believeth in God and in the last day, let him not leave in his house any image whatever, that he doth not break in pieces." He likewise deputed a party of the Bani Khozâa to repair the boundary pillars around the sacred territory.* Thus he gave practical proof that, while determined to root out idolatry from the land, he was equally resolved to cherish and perpetuate the sanctity of Mecca. He won the hearts of the inhabitants by his passionate declaration of attachment to their city:—"Thou art the choicest portion of the earth unto me," he said, "and the most loveable thereof. If I had not been cast forth from thy borders, I never had forsaken thee!" The men of Medîna now began to fear that as the Lord had given him the victory over his native city and country, he would return to it as to his home. Mahomet overheard them conversing thus, and calling them around him, assured them all that he would never quit Medîna: "God forbid it," he said,—"where ye live there shall I live, and there too shall I die."†

* The *Alamain* were then, as at the present day, pillars placed at the limits of the sacred territory on either side of all the main roads leading to Mecca. See *Burton*, v. iii. 251, 341, 369. They had probably become neglected or injured, as Mahomet may have observed in passing. The distance of these land-marks from Mecca seems to vary in different directions. On the Jedda road they are nine miles from Mecca; towards Al Omra, only three.

† *Hishâmi*, 366. This is said to have occurred on Safa, as he was praying on that eminence. For the account popularly given

Abu Bakr brings his father to visit Mahomet.

Mahomet now retired again to his tent. Soon after, Abu Bakr approached the door, leading his father, Abu Cuhâfa, who was bowed down with great age, and his locks "white as the flower of the mountain grass."* Mahomet accosted him kindly: "Why didst thou not leave thine aged father in his house, Abu Bakr? and I would have gone and seen him there." "It was more fitting that he should visit thee, O Prophet, than that thou shouldst visit him." Mahomet seated Abu Cuhâfa beside himself, and affectionately pressing his hand upon the old man's breast, invited him to make profession of the Moslem faith, which he readily did.

Citizens proscribed.

From the general amnesty extended to the citizens of Mecca, Mahomet excluded ten or twelve persons. Of these, however, only four were actually put to death.

Huweirith and Habbâr: the former executed.

Huweirith and Habbâr were proscribed in consequence of their barbarous conduct in having pursued Zeinab, Mahomet's daughter, while endeavouring to effect her escape from Mecca.† The former

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of Mahomet's receiving the pledge of loyalty from the citizens of Mecca, I can find no authority. *M. C. de Perceval*, v. iii. p. 233.

* *Hishâmi*, 360. The fine image is spoiled by the addition that Mahomet desired him to dye his snow-white hair.

† See above, p. 9. Huweirith, as there stated, is accused of having perpetrated a similar attack on Fâtima and Omm Colthûm when they were on the road to Medîna *under charge of Abbâs;* but the circumstance is noticed nowhere else; and it will be remembered that these ladies were taken to Medîna by Zeid and not by Abbâs. I have little doubt that Huweirith was proscribed in con-

was put to death by Ali; the latter concealed himself; and some months later, appearing at Medîna, a repentant convert, he was forgiven.

Two murderers and a singing girl put to death.

The two next were renegade Moslems, who, having shed blood at Medîna, had fled to Mecca, and abjured Islam. They were both slain, and also a singing girl belonging to one of them, who had been in the habit of annoying the Prophet by abusive verses.*

Abdallah, an apostate, escapes.

The rest escaped. Among them was another apostate, Abdallah ibn Sâd,† whom Mahomet had employed at Medîna in writing out passages of the Coran from his dictation. His foster brother sheltered him till quiet was restored, then brought him forward and implored forgiveness for him. The Prophet, unwilling to pardon so great an offender, for some time held his peace; but at last granted him quarter. When Abdallah retired, Mahomet thus addressed his companions who were seated about him: "Why did not one of you arise and smite Abdallah on the neck. I remained silent expecting this." "But thou gavest no sign unto us," replied

sequence of his having been the accomplice of Habbâr in the attack on Zeinab. As Ali put him to death, the tradition might naturally grow up that it was his wife Fâtima, and not his sister, to whom the indignity was offered.

* Their names are Abdallah ibn Khalal and Mikyas ibn Subâba. The murder committed by the former is said to have been wilful, that of the latter unintentional. Abdallah had two singing girls. Both were sentenced to death, but one escaped and afterwards obtained quarter; the execution of the other appears to have been the worst act committed by Mahomet on the present occasion. Abdallah was killed clinging to the curtain of the Kâaba.

† Abdallah is also called Ibn Abi Sârah.

one of them. "To give signs," said Mahomet; "is treachery; it is not fitting for a Prophet in such fashion to ordain the death of any."

Safwân, Ikrima, Hind, and Sârah, escape.

Safwân and Ikrima, after eluding the pursuit of Khâlid, fled towards the sea-shore; they were on the point of embarking, when the assurance of forgiveness reached them and they were persuaded to return.* Hind, the wife of Abu Sofiân, and Sârah, a singing girl who had in the discharge of her profession given offence to Mahomet, escaped the sentence of death by an opportune submission.†

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* Ikrima was brought back by his wife who, had obtained a pardon from Mahomet, and hurried after him to Jedda. M. C. de Perceval tells a romantic story of her reaching the shore just as he had embarked, and waving her scarf to bring him back, v. iii. 239.

Omeir, a Meccan chief, went after Safwân, taking as a pledge the red striped turban worn by Mahomet around his head as he entered Mecca. He asked for two months' quarter; Mahomet gave him four. *Hishâmi*, 367.

† Sârah is said by Abul Feda to have been the same that carried Hâtib's letter. But this is not mentioned by the Secretary, or by Hishâmi, as it would, no doubt, if it had been true. The cause assigned is, that she persecuted Mahomet at Mecca. Of others not mentioned among the proscribed, is Abdallah ibn Zibâra, a poet who used to write satirical verses against Mahomet. He fled to Najrân, but was induced to return to Medîna by some friendly verses of Hassân.

Wahshî, the Abyssinian slave, who slew Hamza, fled to Tâyif, and eventually obtained pardon, in company with its inhabitants.

Omm Hâni gave refuge to two men of her husband's tribe whom her brother Ali wished to kill. She went to Mahomet to ask quarter for them. He received her graciously, saying, "I give protection to whomsoever thou dost give protection." A curious scene is at the same time described of Mahomet's camp life. The Prophet, wearied and covered with dust, had retired to

The proscriptions were thus comparatively few in number; and capital sentence, where actually carried into effect, was, perhaps, (with a single exception,*) justified by other crimes than mere political antagonism. The conduct of Mahomet on the conquest of Mecca, was marked by singular magnanimity and moderation. It was indeed for his own interest to forgive the past, and to cast all its slights and injuries into oblivion. But it did not the less require a large and generous heart to do this.† And he had his reward, for the whole population of his native city at once gave in their adhesion, and espoused his cause with alacrity and apparent devotion. There were no "disaffected" inhabitants at Mecca, as there had been at Medîna. Within a few weeks we find two thousand of the citizens fighting faithfully by his side.

Treatment of Mecca by Mahomet, magnanimous and forbearing.

On the night after the occupation of Mecca, some men of the Bani Khozâa, to gratify an old standing enmity, rose upon a party of the Bani Hodzeil, and

Bloodshed prohibited.

a corner of the tent across which Fâtima held a screen; there he bathed himself, and then came forth to meet the persons waiting for him.

M. C. de Perceval mentions seventeen persons proscribed. Vol. iii. p. 230. I do not find authority for so many. *K. Wâckidi*, 129; *Hishâmi*, 363.

* I allude to the singing girl of Abdallah, as explained in a previous note. The murder committed by Mikyas, though described as not wilful, was probably attended with some other act of criminality, or he would not have fled from Medîna.

† Mahomet is said to have compared himself in his treatment of Mecca to Joseph forgiving the injuries of his brethren. *K. Wâckidi*, 128½.

put one of them to death. The day following, Mahomet took advantage of the incident, and addressed the congregation which had assembled in front of the Kâaba for the mid-day prayer in these words: "Verily the Lord hallowed Mecca in the day that he framed the heavens and the earth. Nor was it common unto me, but for a single watch of the day,—then it returned to its sacredness as before. Neither was the plunder thereof lawful unto me. Let him that is present tell it unto him that is absent. Ye Bani Khozâa! withdraw your hands from shedding blood. The man whom ye have killed, I will myself pay the compensation for him; but whoso slayeth any man after this, verily the blood of him that is murdered shall be required at his hands."

Parties sent out to destroy the images.

During the succeeding fortnight, which was occupied in the arrangement of public affairs at Mecca, Mahomet sent forth several armed parties to destroy the idolatrous shrines in the vicinity, and secure the submission of the surrounding tribes. Khâlid demolished the fane of Al Ozza at Nakhla,—the famous goddess of the Meccan tribes; Amru broke in pieces Suwâ, an image adored by the Bani Hodzeil; and Manât, the divinity worshipped at Cudeid, was destroyed by a band of the citizens of Medîna who had formerly been especially devoted to its service.*

* Some traditions assign the command in this last expedition to Ali, but the balance of evidence is in favour of the statement in the text; and it was, moreover, in keeping with his character that Mahomet would send its former worshippers to destroy the image. It used to be worshipped by the Bani Aws, Khazraj, and Ghassân.

On his return from Nakhla, Khâlid was sent with a large detachment to require the adhesion of the Bani Jadzîma, who dwelt à day's march south of Mecca. They tendered an immediate submission, professed themselves converts,* and at the bidding of Khâlid, laid down their arms. But Khâlid, actuated by an ancient enmity, and thus early giving proof of the unscrupulous cruelty which marked his subsequent career, and gained for him the title of *The Sword of God*, made them all prisoners, and gave command for their execution. A portion were put to death by his Bedouin followers, but fortunately there were also present some citizens of Medîna and Refugees, who interposed and saved the rest. Mahomet, displeased and grieved at the intelligence, raised up his hands to Heaven, and said: "O Lord! I am innocent in thy sight of that which Khâlid hath done." To prove the sincerity of his displeasure, he sent forth Ali with money to make compensation for the slain, and for the plunder.

Cruelty of Khâlid to the Bani Jadzima.

Curious stories are told about these deities. When Khâlid returned from Nakhla, Mahomet asked him what he had seen. He replied, Nothing. "Then thou hast not yet destroyed the goddess? Return and do so." On his going back, a naked female, black, and with dishevelled hair, rushed out, and Khâlid cut her in pieces. "*That* was Ozza," said the Prophet, when it was reported to him. A similar tale is told of Manât. *K. Wâckîdi*, 129.

The servitor of one of the images, after suspending his sword about its neck, retired to an adjoining hill, and cried out to the image to wield the sword and save itself. *Hishâmi*, 371.

* M. C. de Perceval says that they professed themselves *Sabeans*, but I do not find this stated in any of my authorities. Vol. iii. p. 243.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIFTH.

The Battle of Honein and Siege of Tâyif.

The B. Hawâzin assemble against Mahomet:

WHETHER from the rumour of Khâlid's sanguinary treatment of the Bani Jadzîma, or from fear of Mahomet generally, and jealousy of his aggressive career, the great and warlike tribe of the Hawâzin resolved to anticipate any attack upon their liberties, by themselves assuming an offensive front. They appointed a rendezvous at Autâs, a valley between Mecca and Tâyif, where they began rapidly to assemble.

who is therefore obliged to leave Mecca.

This movement obliged Mahomet to cut short his stay at Mecca. Although the city had cheerfully accepted his supremacy, all its inhabitants had not yet embraced the new religion, or formally acknowledged his prophetical claim. Perhaps he intended to follow the course he had pursued at Medîna, and leave the conversion of the people to be gradually accomplished without compulsion. However this may have been, the threatening intelligence from Tâyif called him away from Mecca after little more than a fortnight's stay. Moâdz ibn Jabal, a young citizen of Medîna, well skilled in the Coran and in

all questions of religious practice, was left behind to instruct the Meccans in the tenets and requirements of Islam;* and Attâb a youthful Coreishite, of the house of Abd Shams, was placed over the secular administration of the city.†

Four weeks had just elapsed since he had quitted Medîna, when Mahomet marched forth from Mecca at the head of all his forces, swelled now, by the addition of two thousand auxiliaries from Mecca, to the large number of twelve thousand men. Safwân, at his request, made over to him one hundred suits of mail and stand of arms complete, and as many camels. The array of tribes, each with a banner waving at its head, was so imposing, that Abu Bakr broke forth, as the marshalled forces passed, with the exclamation: "We shall not this day be worsted by reason of the smallness of our numbers!" Mahomet smiled with a complacent assent.‡ The vainglorious boast was remembered by the Prophet afterwards with self-reproach. In three or

Mahomet sets out to disperse them. Shawwâl, A.H. VIII. 28th January, A.D. 630;—

and reaches Honein.

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* Moâdz belonged to the Bani Khazraj; he was only twenty or twenty-one years of age at the battle of Badr, and was now twenty-six or twenty-seven.

† He was at this time but twenty-one years old, according to M. C. de Perceval, (iii. 247), though a chief of great influence. He belonged to the same branch as Othmân and Abu Sofiân: for its origin see vol. i. p. ccl. When Mahomet first occupied Mecca, he set over the market Sâid ibn Saîd, but this person went forth with him to Tâyif. *K. Wâckidi*, 129.

‡ Some attribute this saying to Mahomet himself.

four marches the army arrived near the entrance of the valley of Honein.

The B. Hawâzin also advance upon Honein.

The greater part of the tribes of the Bani Hawâzin, including the Bani Thackîf, who inhabited Tâyif, having rallied round their chief Mâlik ibn Awf, at Autâs, had meanwhile also been advancing upon the valley of Honein. The women and children, the property, herds, and flocks, of the Hawâzin, followed in their rear. Mâlik hoped, by the presence of their families, and consciousness of the disastrous results of a defeat, to nerve his troops to victory. Doreid, a very aged warrior, who accompanied the army in his litter, protested against the fatal measure. But the youthful leader derided his advice. During the night, after Mahomet's arrival in the vicinity of Honein, Mâlik drew up his men in a masked position, commanding a steep and narrow defile, which formed the entrance to the valley, and awaited in silence the approach of the enemy.*

* Mâlik was only thirty years of age. *K. Wâckidi*, 130; *Hishâmi*, 372. Doreid ibn Simna was a famous chief in his day. See M. C. de Perceval, v. ii. 539 *et seq.* After the battle, he was cruelly put to death in cold blood, by a youth of the B. Suleim, who captured him as he was endeavouring to escape in his camel-litter. The first cut of the youth's sword took no effect. "How badly has thy mother furnished thee!" said the old man, cold and unmoved at the prospect of death. "There, take that sword hung up behind the litter, and strike just between the spine and the head. It was thus I used to slay the adversary in my day. Then go and tell thy mother that thou hast killed Doreid. Many are the days in which I have saved the lives of the women of thy tribe." He had, in fact, saved the lad's mother, and his two

Very early in the morning, while the dawn was yet gray, and the sky overcast with clouds,* the army of Mahomet was in motion. Clad in a full panoply, as on the day of Ohod, he rode on his white mule Duldul towards the rear of the forces. The vanguard, formed of the Bani Suleim, and led by Khâlid, were defiling leisurely up the steep and narrow pass, when suddenly the Hawâzin rushed forth from their ambuscade, and charged them with impetuosity. Staggered by the unexpected onslaught, the Bani Suleim broke and fell back. The shock was communicated from column to column. Aggravated by the obscurity of the hour, and the straitness and ruggedness of the road, panic seized the whole army: all turned and fled.† As

Battle of *Honein*. 10th Shawwâl, A.H. VIII. 1st February, A.D. 630.

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grandmothers. The skin of his legs resembled paper, from constant riding on the bare backs of horses. *Hishâmi*, 377.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 131½. It rained that day.

† Clearly the whole army did so, from the accounts both of the Secretary and Hishâmi; the latter says that all fled, each for himself, none heeding his neighbour: p. 374. The Secretary adds that the B. Suleim first broke, then the new soldiers from Mecca, then the whole army; which supposes the Meccans to have been in front, immediately behind the vanguard: p. 130.

A number of traditions are given by Hishâmi of supposed spiteful speeches made by the Meccans on the occurrence of this reverse. Abu Sofiân said: "They are running so hard that they will never stop till they reach the sea!" Jabala, son of Safwân (included in his father's four months' truce, see above, p. 127, note) said, "Mahomet's magic spell is this day broken." His father rebuked him: "Quiet, my son! Wottest thou not that I would rather one of the Coreish should lord it over me, than these Hawâzin!" Sheiba, son of Othmân ibn Abi Talha, killed at

troop by troop they hurried past him, Mahomet called out: "Whither away? The Prophet of the Lord is here! Return! return!"—but his words had no effect, excepting that a band of devoted friends and followers gathered round him.* The confusion increased, the multitude of camels jostled wildly one against another; all was noise and clamour, and the voice of Mahomet was lost amid the din. At last, seeing the column of Medîna troops bearing down in the common flight, he bade his uncle Abbâs, who held his mule, to cry aloud: "O! citizens of Medîna,† O men of the Tree of Fealty! Ye of the Sura Bacr!" ‡ Abbâs had a stentorian voice, and as he shouted these words over and over again at the pitch of his voice, they were heard far and near. At once they touched a chord in the hearts of the men of Medîna. They were arrested in their flight, and, "like she camels when their bowels are

Ohod) vowed that he would slay Mahomet, &c. Nothing of all these tales is mentioned by the Secretary, and they look very like Abbasside fabrications. I do not find anything in the bearing of the people or chiefs of Mecca to warrant the charge of disaffection. They fled like the rest. Like the rest they returned to the charge: and were faithful ever after.

* The names of those who stood firm by Mahomet are given as follows:—Abbâs, and his son Fadhl, Ali, Abu Sofiân ibn Hârith, and Rabia, his brother; Abu Bakr, Omar, Osâma, and Ayman.

† *Ansâr*, or Helpers, as explained above, vol. iii. p. 26.

‡ Alluding to those who took the oath of fealty under the Acacia at Hodeibia; and to Sura Bacr, the first revealed at Medîna. The double allusion would thus remind them of their conversion, and of their oath to defend Mahomet to the death.

stirred towards their young," hastened to Mahomet, crying aloud, "*Yâ Labeik!* Here we are, ready at thy call!" One hundred of these devoted followers, disengaged with difficulty from the camels that jammed the narrow pass, threw themselves upon the advancing enemy, and checked his progress. Relieved from the pressure, the army rallied gradually, and returned to the battle. The conflict was severe; and the issue, from the adverse nature of the ground and the impetuosity of the wild Bedouins, remained for some time doubtful. Mahomet ascended an eminence, and watched the struggle. Excited by the spectacle, he began loudly to exclaim: "*Now is the furnace heated: I am the Prophet that lieth not. I am the son of Abd al Muttalib!*" Then bidding Abbâs to pick up for him a handful of gravel, he cast it towards the enemy, saying, "*Ruin seize them!*" They had indeed already wavered. "They are discomfited," he cried out eagerly, "I swear by the Lord of the Kâaba! God hath cast fear into their hearts." The steadiness of the Medîna-band, and the enthusiasm of the rest when once recalled to their duty, had won the day. The enemy fled, and the rout was complete. Many were slain, and so fiercely did the Moslems press the pursuit, that they killed among the rest some of the little children,—an atrocity which Mahomet had strictly forbidden.*

The B. Hawâzin beaten back.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 130½. Khâlid, as usual pre-eminent in cruelty, was reprimanded for slaying a woman. *Hishâmi*, 379.

Their families and camp captured.

Mâlik, taking his stand with the flower of his army upon a height at the further end of the valley, covered the escape of his broken forces; but he was unable to rescue the women and children. They fell into the hands of Mahomet, with the camp and all that it contained. Six thousand prisoners were taken;* and the spoil included twenty-four thousand camels, forty thousand sheep and goats, and four thousand ounces of silver. The prisoners and the booty were removed to the valley of Jierrâna, and kept there in the shelter of huts and enclosures, awaiting the return of the army from Tâyif. Mahomet knew that the Bani Hawâzin would seek to regain their families, and an opportunity was skilfully left open for negotiation.

Pursuit of fugitive columns

The fugitive army was pursued with slaughter as far as Nakhla; from thence part fled back to Autâs, and part to Tâyif. The former entrenched themselves in their previous camp. A strong detachment was sent to dislodge them, which they accomplished after severe fighting, and the loss of their leader from the wound of an arrow. The dispersed fragments of the enemy found refuge in the surrounding hills.

Loss on the side of Mahomet.

The victory was thus complete, but not without some considerable loss on the part of Mahomet. Only five of his immediate followers are named

* I cannot vouch for these numbers being even approximately correct. One tradition states that there were a hundred thousand prisoners! *K. Wâckidi*, 131½. They were, no doubt, from collateral notices, a great multitude.

among the slain.* But some of the auxiliaries must have suffered greatly; for two tribes are spoken of as almost annihilated. For these Mahomet offered up a special prayer, and said: "O Lord! recompense them because of their calamities!"†

The reverse sustained at the opening of the day, was attributed by the Prophet to the vainglorious confidence with which the believers looked upon their great army. The subsequent success was equally ascribed to the aid of invisible hosts which fought against the enemy. The engagement is thus alluded to in the Coran. Victory ascribed to angelic aid.

"Verily God hath assisted you in many battle-fields; and on the day of Honein, when indeed ye rejoiced in the multitude of your host. But their great number did not in any wise benefit you: the earth became too strait for you with all its spaciousness.‡ Then ye turned your backs and fled.

"Afterwards the Lord sent down his peace § upon his Prophet and upon the Believers, and sent down Hosts which ye saw not, and punished them that disbelieved; and that is the end of the Unbelievers.

"Then God will be turned hereafter unto whom he pleaseth; for God is gracious and merciful."‖

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 130½. Among these was Ayman, son of Mahomet's nurse, Omm Ayman (Baraka), and uterine brother of Osâma son of Zeid. He was the son of Obeid the Khazrajite.

† Their names are given as the Bani Nadhr ibn Muâvia, and Bani Rubâb. *Ibid.*

‡ Alluding to the narrow and precipitous character of the pass, where their great numbers, of which they had been vainglorious proud, only added to the difficulty. See above, p. 137, the vaunting remark of Abu Bakr and Mahomet.

§ *Sekîna* or Shechina, as before explained; meaning, perhaps a sense of the divine presence.

‖ *Sura*, ix. 26-28. The last verse is construed by the com-

Siege of *Tâyif*. Shawwâl, A.H. VIII. February, A.D. 630.

As soon as the detachment had returned from Autâs, Mahomet pushed forward his army by way of Nakhla, and laid siege to Tâyif. But the city was surrounded by strong battlements; it was provisioned for many months, and there was a plentiful supply of water within the walls.* The besiegers were received with showers of arrows, so thick and well sustained that they are described as darkening the sky like a flight of locusts. It was soon discovered that the camp was pitched too near the city. Twelve men were killed, and many wounded, among whom was a son of Abu Bakr.† The encampment was speedily withdrawn beyond the range of the enemy's archery. A tent was erected for Omm Salma, and another for Zeinab. Both had followed their lord through all the dangers of the way. Between these tents Mahomet performed the daily prayers; and on this spot the great Mosque of Tâyif was afterwards erected.

Testudos and catapults tried without success.

The siege did not advance, for no one dared to expose himself before the galling archery from the walls. This had been anticipated, and a remedy

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mentators as referring to the mercy afterwards shown to the B. Hawâzin. It more probably means forgiveness for the vainglory and cowardice described in v. 26. As usual, the angels are a favourite subject of tradition. Their *red uniform* is described. *K. Wâckidi*, 130½. A cloud was observed to fill the valley like ants: this was the angelic troop, *Hishâmi*, 377.

* *Burckhardt*, p. 85.

† Abdallah. He never recovered; but he did not die till after Mahomet. *K. Wâckidi*, 132; *Hishâmi*, 383.

already sought. The Bani Dous,* who lived at some distance south of Mecca, were famous for their acquaintance with the use of the Testudo and Catapult. Tufeil, one of their chiefs, had joined Mahomet at Kheibar with a party of his tribe.† He had lately been despatched from Mecca or Honein to secure the allegiance of his people, and to seek their aid in the reduction of Tâyif. They accepted the summons; and Tufeil, having burned their tutelary image, the famous Dzul Kaffein, joined Mahomet four days after siege had been laid to Tâyif. The besieging engines were speedily prepared, and parties pushed forward under cover of them. But the citizens were prepared for the stratagem. They cast down balls of heated iron from the battlements, and set the machines on fire. The soldiers labouring under their shelter fled in alarm. A discharge of arrows opened upon them; some were killed, and many wounded before they escaped beyond their range. The testudo and catapult were not tried again.

Vineyards cut down and liberty offered to the slaves of the garrison.

Seeing no other way of bringing the city to terms, Mahomet gave command to cut down and burn the far-famed vineyards which surrounded the place.‡ This order was being carried into

* They belonged to the great Azdite tribe, vol. i. p. clvi.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 121; *Hishâmi*, 120. Tradition gives him the credit of having been converted at Mecca, before the Hegira; but this is apocryphal.

‡ They lie at the foot of the low mountains encircling the

effect, as the unfortunate citizens from the wall could descry, with merciless vigour, when they succeeded in conveying to Mahomet an earnest expostulation; they besought "for the sake of mercy and of God," that he would desist. He listened to the appeal, and stayed farther destruction. But he caused a proclamation to reach the garrison which grievously displeased them, that if any slaves came forth from the city, they would receive their freedom. Only ten men however were able to avail themselves of the offer.

Siege raised, and army returns to Jierrâna. Dzul Cada, A.H. VIII. end of Feb. 630.

The siege had now been protracted for half a month without producing the slightest effect.* The army was beginning to exhibit symptoms of impatience, and of anxiety for the distribution of the spoil at Jierrâna. Mahomet took counsel with the principal men: "What thinkest thou," said he to Naufal, the Duilite, "what thinkest thou of this stubborn city?" "A fox in its hole," replied the astute and sententious chief. "Remain long enough and you will catch it: leave it alone, and it will not

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sandy plain, in the middle of which Tâyif stands. They are still as famous as they were 1,200 years ago. The nearest is "now about a half or three quarters of an hour from the city." See *Burckhardt*, p. 85, quoted above at p. 201, vol. ii.

* The Secretary says that the siege lasted fourteen days; some say fifteen, others eighteen days. *K. Wâckidi*, 132. Mahomet returned to Jierrâna on the 5th Dzul Cada, or 26th February (*K. Wâckidi*, 131);—which would admit an extreme limit of eighteen days spent before Tâyif, and eight days for the march to and from Honein.

harm you." A dream was seen by the Prophet which ratified this view.* It was not the Divine will that operations should be continued. The siege was therefore raised, and the army marched back to Jierrâna, which it reached about the end of February.

Here occurred an interesting incident, already described in the opening chapter of this work. An aged female among the captives, being roughly treated like the rest, warned the rude soldiery to beware,—"For," said she, "I am the foster-sister of your chief." Hearing this, they carried her to Mahomet, who recognized in the complainant the little girl that used to tend and carry him, when he was nurtured by Halîma, among the Bani Sád. He seated her affectionately beside him, and offered to take her to Medîna. But she preferred remaining with her tribe. And accordingly he dismissed her with a handsome present.† Scene between Mahomet and his foster sister.

* Mahomet dreamed that a bowl of cream was presented to him, which a hen pecked at and spilled. Abu Bakr interpreted the dream to mean that he would not at this time obtain his desire against Tâyif, and Mahomet thought so too. *Hishâmi*, 381.

A story told of Uyeina illustrates the feelings and motives of the Bedouin auxiliaries. He was lauding the garrison of Tâyif for their brave and determined resistance.—"Out upon thee, Uyeina!" said his neighbour; "dost thou praise the enemies of the Prophet,—the very people whom thou hast come to aid him in destroying." "Verily," said the Bedouin chief, "I had another object in view in coming hither. I hoped that if Mahomet gained the victory, I should obtain one of the damsels of Tâyif; and then I should have had worthy issue from her; for truly the tribe of Thackîf are a warlike, noble race." *Hishâmi*, 382.

† See vol. i. p. 26, and references there quoted. The mark of

The prisoners of the B. Hawâzin given up to them.

Encouraged by the kind treatment of their kinswoman, a deputation from the various tribes of the Hawâzin presented themselves before the Prophet. Among them was an aged man who claimed to be his foster-uncle.* They professed their submission to the authority of their conqueror, recounted the calamities which had befallen them, and thus urged their special claims to favour: "There, in these huts among the prisoners, are thy foster mothers and foster sisters,—they that have nursed thee and fondled thee in their bosoms. We have known thee a suckling, a weaned child, a youth generous and noble: and now thou hast risen to this dignity. Be gracious therefore unto us, even as the Lord hath been gracious unto thee!"† Mahomet could not withstand the appeal. Turning kindly to them, he said: "Whether of the two, your families or your property, is the dearer to you?" "Our women and our children," they replied; "we would not give anything in exchange for them." "Then," continued the Prophet, "whatsoever prisoners fall to my portion and that of my family, I give them up unto you: and I will presently speak unto the people concerning the rest. Come ye again unto me at the mid-day prayer, when they are assembled, and

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a bite, recognized by Mahomet as having been inflicted by himself, on Shima's back, is no doubt a traditional embellishment.

* His name is variously stated by the Secretary. *K. Wâckidi* 21 and 131.

† See vol. i. p. 25.

beg publicly of me to make intercession with them for you." At the appointed time they appeared and made their petition. The men of Medîna and of Mecca cheerfully followed the example of Mahomet. But some of the allies, as the Bani Tamîm, and the Bani Fazára, with Uyeina at their head, declined to do so. Mahomet urged the claims of his new converts, and promised that such of the allies as were unwilling to part with their share of the prisoners should be recompensed hereafter from the first booty the Lord might give into their hands, at the rate of six camels for every captive. To this they agreed, and the prisoners were all released.

Mahomet presents female slaves to Ali, Othmân, and Omar.

I ought not here to omit a curious illustration of the Prophet's mode of life. Among the captives were three beautiful women, who were brought to Mahomet. One, named Reeta, was presented by him to Ali; the second, Zeinab, to Othmân; and the third to Omar. Omar transferred the latter to his son Abdallah, who returned her uninjured to the tribe, when the prisoners were given up.* Whether the other two were restored likewise is not stated: but be this as it may, it throws a strange light on the domestic history of Mahomet, that he should have presented such gifts as captive damsels to the father

* Abdallah had sent this slave girl to be kept in readiness for him after he had visited the Kâaba; but mean while the prisoners were given up. It does not appear from the tradition that Abdallah felt himself debarred from consorting with her till the period of *Istibra* had expired. See above, p. 76.

of one of his wives, and to the husbands of two of his own daughters.

Mahomet is mobbed on account of the booty.

Having arranged for the restoration of the prisoners, Mahomet had already mounted his camel and was proceeding to his tent, when the people, fearing lest the spoil, as well as the prisoners, should slip from their grasp,* crowded round him with loud cries: "Distribute to us the booty, the camels and the flocks!" The crowd thronged him so closely and so rudely, that he was driven to seek for refuge under a tree. While thus pressed on every side, his mantle was torn from his shoulders. "Return to me my mantle, O man!" cried Mahomet, who had now secured a more free position. "Return my mantle: for I swear by the Lord that if the sheep and the camels were as many as the trees of the Tihâma in number, I would divide them all amongst you. Ye have not heretofore found me niggardly or false." Then he plucked a hair from his camel's hump, and holding it aloft said: "Even

* This, I think, may safely be assumed as the cause of Mahomet's being mobbed, since *Hishâmi* makes it to follow immediately upon the restoration of the prisoners. I might have been inclined to connect this display of popular displeasure with the gifts invidiously made to the Meccan and Bedouin chiefs, but that Hishâmi makes the presentation of the gifts a *subsequent* transaction; and they were, in fact, probably intended to calm this excitement. The Secretary, indeed, makes the giving of the presents to come first: but I do not place confidence in his version, for *he omits the mobbing altogether*. *Hishâmi*, 385; *K. Wâckidi*, 130½.

to a hair like this, I shall not keep back aught but the fifth,* and that, too, I give up unto you." The people were pacified, and Mahomet went on his way.

Presents made to the Meccan and Bedouin chiefs.

He took an early opportunity of making good his promise, and at the same time of gaining, by a princely liberality, the hearts of the leading Chiefs of Mecca and of the Bedouin tribes. To those of the greatest influence, he presented each one hundred camels. Among them we find Abu Sofiân, with his two sons, Yazîd and Muâvia ; Hakîm ibn Hizâm, Safwân, Suheil, Huweitib, Uyeina, and several others, who but a few weeks before were the Prophet's deadly enemies. To the lesser chiefs he gave fifty camels each. And so liberal was he that, in some instances where discontent was expressed with the amount, the gift was without hesitation doubled.†

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* This I take to refer to his intention of distributing the fifth, or a part of it, on the present occasion, among the chiefs. It is also capable of the more general meaning (as *Weil*, p. 239) that he always employed the fifth for the advantage of his people.

† Abu Sofiân and each of his sons received, besides, forty ounces of silver ; the former is said to have lost an eye before Tâyif. Hakîm asked for an additional hundred camels, and they were given him. The following, besides those in the text, received one hundred camels each: Nadhr ibn al Hârith; Oseid, a chief of the B. Thackîf; Hârith ibn Hishâm; Cays ibn Adi; Narâ, a chief of the Tamîm. Among those who got fifty camels each are Al Alâ, a Thackifite chief; Makharrama ibn Noufal, Saîd ibn Yarbó, Omeir and Othmân ibn Wahb of the B. Jumoh; Hishâm of the Bani Amir; Adî ibn Cays of the B. Sahm.

Abbâs ibn Merdâs was not contented with fifty camels, and re-

Discontent occasioned thereby among the older followers.

Although the largesses were taken from the Prophet's Fifth,* yet the favour and honour lavished on these recent and doubtful adherents, gave great umbrage to the old and faithful followers of Mahomet. Thus one complained that such Bedouin chieftains as Acra and Uyeina received each one hundred camels, while a faithful believer like Jucil got nothing at all.†—"And what of that?" replied the Prophet. "I swear that Jucil is the best man that ever stepped on earth, were it filled never so full with Acras and Uyeinas; but I wished to gain over the hearts of these men to Islam, while Jucil hath no need of any such inducement."

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cited verses in which he complained that, though his dignity was greater than that of Uyeina and Acra, he had received less than they. Mahomet said, "Go and cut out his tongue (*i. e.* quiet him); give him more until he be satisfied." In speaking with Abbâs, Mahomet quoted his poetry, asking him what he meant thereby, and in so doing he transposed the words Uyeina and Acra, thus spoiling the metre: the story is told, like many similar ones, to show that Mahomet was not a poet, and could not even distinguish poetry from prose. See vol. ii. p. 146.

* There appear, however, to be traditions of an opposite tenor; for the Secretary says that "those authorities which represent the presents as taken from the Fifth, appear to him to be the most certain." *K. Wâckidi*, 131. Of course, if there had been any suspicion that the people's four-fifths were being trenched upon for this purpose, the discontent would have been much greater.

† Son of Surâca the Dhamrite. At what period he was converted, and why he is singled out in this remonstrance, I do not know. The B. Dhamra entered into treaty with Mahomet in the second year of the Hegira. See vol. iii. pp. 67, 69. He is the man so often personated by the devil.

A man of the Bani Tamîm, who watched the proceeding, openly impugned its equity. Mahomet became angry, and said, "Out upon thee! If justice and equity be not with me, where will ye find them!"* But what concerned Mahomet the most, were the murmurs of the citizens of Medîna. "Truly," thus they spake among themselves, "he hath now joined his own people and forsaken us." The discontent proceeded so far that Sád ibn Obáda thought right to represent it to the Prophet, who bade him call the murmurers together. He then addressed them in these words: "Ye men of Medîna,† it hath been reported to me that ye are disconcerted, because I have given unto these chiefs largesses, and have given nothing unto you. Now speak unto me. Did I not come unto you whilst ye were wandering, and the Lord gave you the right Direction?—needy, and he enriched you;—at enmity amongst yourselves, and he hath filled your hearts with love and unity?" He paused for a reply. "Indeed, it is even as thou sayest," they answered; "to the Lord and to his Prophet belong benevolence and grace." "Nay, by the Lord!" continued Mahomet. "But ye might

* Omar, as usual, threatens to decapitate the audacious caviller Khuweisra: but Mahomet desired that he would leave him alone, prophesying that he would become the author of a heresy which would have nothing of Islam left in it; and so it turned out. *Hishâmi*, 387.

† *Ansár*, "helpers," as before explained; and so throughout this address.

have answered (and answered truly, for I would have verified it myself,)—*Thou camest to Medîna rejected as an impostor, and we bore witness to thy veracity: thou camest a helpless fugitive and we assisted thee; an outcast, and we gave thee an asylum; destitute, and we solaced thee.* Why are ye disturbed in mind because of the things of this life, wherewith I have sought to incline the hearts of these men unto Islam, whereas ye are already stedfast in your faith? Are ye not satisfied that others should obtain the flocks and the camels, while ye carry back the Prophet of the Lord unto your homes? No, I will not leave you for ever. If all mankind went one way, and the men of Medîna another way, verily I would go the way of the men of Medina. The Lord be favourable unto them, and bless them, and their sons and their sons' sons for ever!" At these words all wept, till the tears ran down upon their beards; and they called out with one voice,—"Yea, we are well satisfied, O Prophet, with our lot!"

The subject noticed in the Coran.

It will be seen that Mahomet made no attempt to hide the motive which dictated these munificent gifts. The chiefs who received them are referred to in the Coran as "those *whose hearts have been gained over;**" and they retained the appellation ever after. The passage is as follows:—

* Mûallafa culûbuhum.

" There are that blame thee in the (distribution of the) alms;* if they receive therefrom they are well pleased, but if they do not receive a part they are indignant.

" Now, if they had been well pleased with whatever God and his Apostle gave unto them, and had said,—' God will suffice for us ; God will give unto us of his bounty, and his Prophet also, —verily unto God is our desire,'—(it had been better for them).

" Verily, Alms are for the poor and the needy, and for the collectors of the same, and for them whose hearts are (to be) gained over, and for captives, and for debtors, and for the service of God, and for the wayfarer. It is an ordinance from God ; and God is knowing and wise." †

Mâlik, the chief who had led the Bani Hawâzin, was still in Tâyif. Mahomet desired to gain him over also. So he directed his tribe to make known to him that if he embraced Islam, his family and all his property would be restored, and a present of one hundred camels bestowed upon him. He soon joined Mahomet and became an exemplary believer. Being confirmed in his chiefship, he engaged to maintain a constant warfare with the citizens of Tâyif. He cut off their cattle whenever they were sent beyond the precincts of the city to graze, and reduced them to great straits.‡

Mâlik, the Hawâzinite chief, gained over.

Mahomet spent about a fortnight at Jierrâna, during which period the booty captured at Honein was all distributed. Four camels, and forty sheep

Booty distributed. 5 to 19 Dzul Cada, A.H. VIII.

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* *Sadacât;* the Prophet's fifth being put aside for charity, &c. along with the tithes.

† *Sura*, ix. 60-62.

‡ *Hishâmi*, 385.

26th Feb. 12th March, 630.

or goats, fell to the lot of each foot soldier, and three times that amount to each horseman.*

Mahomet performs the lesser Pilgrimage.

The distribution being ended, Mahomet took upon him the pilgrim vows, and fulfilled the lesser pilgrimage at Mecca. But he made no stay there. He returned to Jierrâna that same night; and the following day, striking through the valleys by a direct route, joined at Sarif the main road, and marched homewards to Medîna.

Attâb left in the government of Mecca.

The youthful Attâb was confirmed in the Government of Mecca, and an allowance assigned him of one dirhem a day.† Attâb presided over the annual pilgrimage, which took place in less than a month after Mahomet's departure. Believers and Idolaters were still permitted to join promiscuously in its ceremonies. Moâdz was left behind by the Prophet to complete the spiritual instruction of the city.

Despatches to Bahrein, &c.

After leaving Jierrâna, Mahomet despatched letters to the Chiefs of Bahrein, Omân, and Yemen, the result of which will be shown in the narrative of the following year.

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* If a man had more than one horse in the field, it gave him no claim to a larger share. *K. Wâckidi*, 131.

† Attâb was quite content with this moderate allowance. He said, "Let the Lord make hungry that man's liver, who is hungry upon a dirhem a day. The Prophet hath appointed that as my sustenance. I have no farther claim upon any one." *Hishâmi*, 385.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIXTH.

Mary, the Coptic Maid, and her Son Ibrahîm.

A.H. VIII., IX. A.D. 630, 631.

Ætat. 61, 62.

In the ninth year of the Hegira, Mahomet lost his daughter Zeinab, who had never recovered the barbarous treatment which she had received from the Coreish, on her escape from Mecca. Omm Kolthûm, the wife of Othmân, had already died, so that of his daughters Fâtima alone was left. But his heart was now solaced by the birth of another child. I have before related that Muckouckas, the governor of Egypt, sent two Coptic maids, Shirîn and Mary, as a gift to Mahomet.* They were both comely, but it was not lawful, according to his own strict precept, for the Prophet to place two sisters in his harem. The beauty of Mary, whose fair complexion and delicate features were adorned by a profusion of black curling hair, fascinated the heart of Mahomet.† So he kept Mary, and gave her

Death of Zeinab, Mahomet's daughter.

Mary, the Coptic maid,

* See above, p. 56.

† *K. Wâckidi*, p. 25. The hair was crisp, in the Coptic style.

sister to another.* Omm Salîm, the wife of his servant Abu Râfi, was entrusted with the new charge.† Mary was not at once placed in the harem at the Mosque, but a garden house was prepared for her in Upper Medîna, where in the heat of the summer and the date harvest, she used to receive the visits of the Prophet.‡

presents Mahomet with a son. Dzul Cáda, A.H. VIII. April, A.D. 630.

A singular fortune elevated Mary to a dignity which the charms of her person alone could not have secured. Shortly after the return of her master from Jierrâna, she gave birth to a son. Salma, who had long ago attended at the birth of Khadîja's children, now performed the same office for Mary.§ And Omm Burda was selected

* The later traditions on the subject I believe to be without foundation; *e.g.* Mahomet was so overcome with the beauty of both that he felt unable to decide which to keep, and so he prayed God to direct him,—which was accordingly done, a divine intimation pointing out Mary as the favoured one, because she was the first to recite the creed. See *Jour. Asiatique*, No. 16, Decr. 1856, p. 508.

† The same that made ready Safia for Mahomet at Kheibar.

‡ See *Burton*, ii. pp. 142, 324. The place is shown to the present day. It lies in the quarter called Ambariya, on the S.E. side of the city, where the road to Yenbo and Mecca emerges; it is separated from the rest of the town by the stream and low intervening land. A Mosque called Masjid Mashrabat Omm Ibrahîm (the *drinking place* of Mary) still marks the spot. At what period Mahomet provided this garden for her is not certain: possibly *after* the birth of Ibrahîm, or on her becoming *enceinte*. Certainly it was an honour one would not have expected to be conferred on a slave girl without some special cause.

§ Vol. ii. 26.

from amongst many candidates to be the infant's nurse. His name was called Ibrahîm.* More than five-and-twenty years had elapsed since the birth of Mahomet's last child, and his numerous marriages at Medîna had given no promise of any progeny. His joy, therefore, at the birth of a son in his old age was very great. On the seventh day, following the example of Khadija, he sacrificed a kid; and, having shaved his head, he distributed silver among the poor to the weight of the hair, which then was buried.† He used daily to visit the house of the nurse, (where according to custom Ibrahîm was brought up,) and calling for the little child would embrace him in his arms and kiss him fondly.

Jealousy of Ayesha and Mahomet's other wives.

The wives of Mahomet were envious of Mary, who as the mother of Ibrahîm was advanced beyond the position of a slave, and enjoyed peculiar favour.‡ As the infant grew and throve, Mahomet

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* The name, I need hardly inform the reader, is the Arabian form for *Abraham*. Another tradition says that the child was given to be nursed by Omm Saif, wife of a blacksmith, who used to be blowing his forge when Mahomet came to see the child, and the house was consequently full of smoke. *K. Wâckidi*, 25½.

† *Ibid.* The weight must have been trifling, as he had only shaved his head a month or six weeks before, at the lesser pilgrimage.

‡ She became the "Omm al Walad" of Mahomet, which appellation is given, in Mahometan parlance, to the female slave who is fortunate enough to bear her master a child. She has certain privileges, cannot be sold, and obtains freedom at her lord's death. But I find no hint anywhere that by her becoming his *Omm Walad*,

one day carried him to Ayesha, and with pride exclaimed. "Look, what a likeness his countenance shows to me!" "I cannot see any likeness," said Ayesha, who would gladly have put Mahomet out of conceit with the child. "What!" repeated Mahomet; "dost thou not see how closely he resembleth me, and how fair and fat he is?" "Yes," she replied, "and any child that drank as much goats' milk would be like him, both fat and fair." A flock of goats was kept for the especial service of the child.*

But the jealousy of Mary's "sisters" showed itself in a more practical manner, and led to an incident in the Prophet's life surpassed in scandal only by his amour with Zeinab. The biographers pass over the scene in decent silence, and I should gladly have followed their example if the Coran itself had not accredited the facts, and stamped them with unavoidable notoriety.

An affair with Mary creates scandal in Mahomet's harem.

It once happened that Haphsa paid a visit to her father on the day which, in due course, Mahomet was passing in her house.† Returning unexpectedly,

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Mahomet, according to the notions of the day (as M. C. de Perceval seems to hold) forfeited any of the privileges he before possessed in regard to her person. *M. C. de Perceval*, v. iii. 268.

* Another tradition makes Ayesha say,—"Any infant that drinks little camel's milk will be both fat and fair." I do not find in the early authorities that Mahomet was jealous of Mary or had any suspicion of her fidelity. Such traditions as those given at p. 509 of the No. of the *Jour. Asiatique* above quoted are not reliable, and need not be alluded to here.

† Possibly Haphsa laid a trap for him. I have before explained how Mahomet used to divide his time among his wives.

she surprised the Prophet in her own private room with Mary. She was indignant at the wrong. The affront was the more intolerable from the servile position of her rival. She reproached her lord bitterly, and threatened to make the occurrence known to all his wives. Afraid of the exposure, and anxious to appease his offended wife, Mahomet begged of her to keep the matter quiet, and promised to forego the society of Mary altogether. Haphsa, however, did not care to keep the secret to herself. She told all to Ayesha, who equally boiled with indignation. The scandal spread apace over the harem, and Mahomet soon found himself received by his wives with coldness and with slight.

Mahomet's displeasure with his wives.

As in the case of Zeinab, Mahomet produced a message from Heaven, which disallowed his promise of separation from Mary, chided Haphsa and Ayesha for their insubordination, and hinted the possibility of all his wives being divorced for their demeanour, so disloyal towards himself. He then withdrew from their society altogether, and for a whole month lived alone with Mary. Omar and Abu Bakr were greatly mortified at the desertion of their daughters for a menial concubine, and grieved at the scandal of the whole proceeding. At length Mahomet, unwilling longer to continue the disgrace of

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He would say, "*This*" (*i. e.* living in rotation with each) "I have power to do: but thou, O Lord, art the master over that in respect of which I have no power" (meaning love in the heart). *K. Wâckidi*, 147½.

his wives, or impatient at his self-imposed seclusion from them, listened to their prayer. Gabriel, he said, had spoken in praise of Haphsa, the chief offender, and desired him to take her back again. Accordingly, he pardoned them all and returned to their apartments as before.

Notice of the affair in the Coran.

The narrative may well be left without comment. I will only draw attention to the strange fact that this exhibition of frailty and petulance, supported as it was asserted to be by the direct interposition of the Almighty, did not in any perceptible degree affect either the reputation and influence of the Prophet, or the credit and character of the pretended divine revelation, among his followers. The passage in the Coran relating to the affair is as follows:—

"O Prophet! Why hast thou forbidden thyself that which God hath made lawful unto thee,* out of desire to please thy wives; for God is forgiving and merciful?

"Verily God hath sanctioned the revocation of your oaths;† and God is your Master. He is knowing and wise.

"The Prophet had entrusted as a secret to one of his wives a certain affair; and when she disclosed it (to another ‡), and God made known the same unto him, he acquainted (her) with a part thereof, and withheld a part.§ And when he had acquainted

* Meaning the company of his female slave.

† Alluding to the previous revelation on the subject, permitting the retractation of oaths, subject to a certain expiation. See *Sura*, v. 98.

‡ *i. e.* when Haphsa disclosed it to Ayesha.

§ The passage is enigmatical. It probably is impossible (and certainly it is of no great consequence) to fix the precise signification. The meaning is apparently this:—He told a part,—that is, a part of what he pretended he had supernaturally learned, that Haphsa had said to Ayesha; and withheld a part, *i. e.* refrained from up-

her* therewith, she said, *Who told thee this?* He replied, *He told it to me, the Knowing and the Wise.*

"If ye both turn with repentance untō God (for verily the hearts of you both have swerved)—Well. But if ye combine with each other against him, surely God is his master; and Gabriel and (every) good man of the Believers, and the Angels, will thereafter be his supporters.

"Haply, his Lord, if he divorce you,† will give him in your stead Wives better than ye are, submissive unto God, believers, pious, repentant, devout, fasting;—both Women married previously, and Virgins."‡

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braiding her with a part of what he had thus learned:—the one part perhaps relating to Mahomet's misdemeanor in Haphsa's room; the other, to his promise that he would not consort with Mary again. According to another tradition, Mahomet, with the view of appeasing Haphsa, told her that Abu Bakr, and after him her father Omar, were to succeed him; this being the part which, from fear of its getting abroad, he did not mention; but such an interpretation is altogether unlikely.

The tradition, which makes the oath or promise to have been to the effect that he would not again partake of a species of strong-scented honey disliked by his wives, is childish and unsupported. The version given in the text is accredited by Jelâlood deen, Yahia, Beidhâwi, Zamakshari, &c., though the two latter add the other story also. See the Notes of the Commentators quoted by *Maracci in loco;* and also *Weil's* note, p. 276.

The secret (if conjectures might be hazarded) may have been in connection with the child Ibrahim, perhaps that Omar and Abu Bakr were to be its guardians.

* *i. e.* Haphsa.

† "You," here in the plural, not as before in the dual number,—implying that all his wives were involved in his displeasure.

‡ *Sura*, lxvi. vv. 1-5. The *Sura* is a short one of only thirteen verses. After the passage quoted, there follow admonitions to obedience and repentance, addressed to Believers generally, with references to Heaven and Hell. The *Sura* closes with a pregnant allusion to two wicked women, who, although the wives of two good men, Noah and Lot, were yet condemned to hell-fire,—

Sickness of Ibrahîm.

I turn gladly to a more edifying and inviting scene. A year and more had passed; and the child Ibrahîm was now advanced to an age at which the innocent prattle and winning ways of infancy stole upon the fond heart of Mahomet. His hopes and his affections centred for a while in his little son. There is, indeed, no ground for holding that Mahomet ever contemplated the building up of a kingdom to be perpetuated in his own family. The prophetical office was purely personal, and his political authority was exercised solely in virtue of that office. But he regarded his children with a loving and partial eye; and no doubt rejoiced in the prospect, dear to every Arab, of having his name and memory perpetuated by male issue; and he might also naturally expect that his son would be cherished and honoured by all the followers of Islam. But his expectations, of whatever nature, were doomed to be prematurely blighted. When aged but fifteen or sixteen months,* Ibrahîm fell sick, and it was soon apparent that he would not survive. The child lay in a palm grove near the house of his nurse.

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signifying that his own wives, unless they repented, might possibly find themselves in the same category; and to two good women, the wife of the tyrant Pharaoh, and Mary, the mother of Jesus, examples propounded for their imitation.

* Two traditions, given by the Secretary, make Ibrahîm to die sixteen months old: another fixes the date at the 10th of the 1st Rabî, which would make him only fifteen months. A fourth tradition says that he was eighteen months. *K. Wâckidi*, 26, 27.

His death, 1st or 2nd Rabî, A.H. X. June or July, A.D. 631.

There his mother Mary, with her sister Shirîn, tended his dying bed. And there too was Mahomet in deep and bitter grief. Seeing that the child was soon to breathe his last, he took him up in his arms and sobbed aloud. The bystanders tried to comfort him. They reminded him of his exhortations to others that they should not wail. "Nay," said Mahomet, calming himself by an effort as he hung over the expiring infant:—"it is not this that I forbade, but loud wailing and false laudation of the dead. This that ye see in me is but the working of pity in the heart: he that sheweth no pity, unto him shall no pity be shewn. We grieve for the child; the eye runneth down with tears, and the heart swelleth inwardly: yet we say not aught that would offend our Lord. Ibrahim! O Ibrahim! if it were not that the promise is faithful, and the hope of resurrection sure,—if it were not that this is the way to be trodden by all, and the last of us shall join the first, I would grieve for thee with a grief deeper even than this!" But the spirit had already passed away, and the last fond words of Mahomet fell on ears that could no longer hear them. So he laid down the infant's body, saying,—"The remainder of the days of his nursing shall be fulfilled in Paradise."* Then he comforted Mary

Ibn Coteiba makes him twenty months and eight days, at his death.

* Mahomet held *two years* to be the proper period for suckling a child. See *Sura*, ii. 234.

and Shirîn, and bade them, now that the child was gone, to be silent and resigned.

Burial of the child.

Mahomet, with his uncle Abbâs, sat by while Fadhl, the son of the latter, washed and laid out the body. It was then carried forth upon a little bier. The Prophet prayed according to his usual practice over it, and then followed the procession to the grave-yard. He lingered over the grave after it was filled up; and calling for a skin of water, caused it to be sprinkled upon the spot. Then observing some unevenness, he smoothed it over with his hand, saying to the bystanders,*—"When ye do this thing, do it carefully, for it giveth ease to the afflicted heart. It cannot injure the dead, neither can it profit him: but it giveth comfort to the living."

Eclipse.

An eclipse of the sun occurred on the same day, and the people spoke of it as a tribute to the death of the Prophet's son. A vulgar impostor would have accepted and confirmed the delusion; but Mahomet rejected the idea. "The sun and the moon," he taught them, "are amongst the signs appointed by the Lord. They are not eclipsed on the death of any one. Whensoever ye see an eclipse, then betake yourselves to prayer, until it passeth away."

The nurse rewarded.

In gratitude for the services of Omm Burda, the

* Another tradition makes this to be addressed to the grave-digger, to whom he gave a clod, and desired him to close up a chink in the earth over the tomb. *K. Wâckidi*, 26½. The traditions describe very minutely the site of the grave.

nurse of his little boy, he presented her with a piece of ground planted as an orchard of palm trees.

In this chapter I have anticipated the march of political events by about a year, in order to bring under one view the circumstances connected with Mary the Copt. General history anticipated.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVENTH.

First Half of the Ninth Year of the Hegira. 20th April to September, 630, A.D.

Political supremacy attained by the conquest of Mecca.

THE conquest of Mecca opens a new era in the progress of Islam. It practically decided the struggle for supremacy in Arabia. Followed by the victory of Honein, it not only removed the apprehension of any future attack upon Medîna, but elevated Mahomet to a position in which it was natural for him to assert a paramount authority throughout the Peninsula. It is true that no such authority had ever been vested in the chiefs of Mecca. The suzerainty of Arabia, enjoyed in remote times by the kings of Himyar,* had been transferred to the dynasty of Hîra, which represented the court of Persia. But Hîra had now fallen to the rank of an ordinary Satrapy; and the Chosroes, discomfited by the Arabs themselves on the field of Dzu Câr, and more lately humbled by the Roman arms, no longer commanded respect.† There was actually at the moment no political power paramount in Arabia.

* See *Introduction*, vol. i. ch. iv. sec. v.

† *Ibid.* sec. ii. pp. clxxxii. *et seq.*

Besides Mahomet himself, no one laid claim to the dignity, or ever dreamed of aspiring to the claim. The possession of Mecca now imparted a colour of right to his pretensions; for Mecca was the spiritual centre of the country, to which the tribes from every quarter yielded a reverential homage. The conduct of the annual pilgrimage, the custody of the holy house, the intercalation of the year, the commutation at will of the sacred months, —institutions which affected all Arabia,—belonged by ancient privilege to the Coreish, and were now in the hands of Mahomet.* Throughout Arabia, who could with greater propriety assert his right to a paramount authority than the Prophet of Medîna and the conqueror of Mecca?

Possession of Mecca increased Mahomet's spiritual power;

Moreover, it had been the special care of Mahomet artfully to interweave with the reformed faith all essential parts of the ancient ceremonial. The one was made an inseparable portion of the other. It was not, indeed, till the expiry of another year that Mahomet ventured to take full advantage of his position, by admitting none but the adherents of Islam to the Kâaba and its rites. Yet the spiritual power which the author of the new faith had gained by combining it with the Pilgrimage, was

* In illustration of the power of the Coreish to modify the practices of the Pilgrimage, and introduce new customs, see the account of the *Homs*, established after Mahomet's birth. *Introduction*, vol. i. ch. iv. p. cclxvii.

universally felt from the moment that Mecca submitted to his arms. There remained but one religion for Arabia, and that was Islam.

which, in its turn, involved an absolute secular authority.

Again, the new religion was so closely bound together with the civil polity, that the recognition of Mahomet's spiritual power necessarily involved a simultaneous submission to his secular jurisdiction. It was an essential tenet of Islam, that the convert should not only submit to its teaching, and adopt its ritual and code of ethics, but also that he should render an implicit obedience in all things "to the Lord and *to his Prophet*," and that he should pay tithes annually (not indeed as a tribute, but as a religious offering, which sanctified the rest of his wealth), towards the charities and expenses of Mahomet and his growing empire.*

* The Tithes are called *Sadacât*, "alms"—the portion of every believer's wealth sacred to the service of God, and described in the Coran as purifying the rest. The practice was evidently borrowed from the Jews, who called their alms by the same name, *Sadaca*, whence the Greek δικαιοσύνη in Matthew, vi. i. See *Sale's Introduction*, sec. iv.

For the collection of the tithes, the verb عشر (to take the tenth part) is used. *K. Wâckidi*, 52½. By this no doubt is meant a tenth *of the increase*; though this is not stated. In after times, the ordinary proportion taken was 2½ per cent. of the whole (see *Sale*, as above), which might very well represent a tenth of the increase.

For the purposes to which Mahomet applied the tithes, see *Sura*, ix. 62, quoted above, p. 155.

Mahomet assisted debtors from the fund thus collected. A debtor once applied for aid:—"Wait," said Mahomet, "till the tithes come in, and then I will help thee." *K. Wackidi*, 60½.

It was under these circumstances that, on his return from Jierrâna, at the opening of the ninth year of the Hegira, the Prophet demanded from the tribes which had tendered their adhesion, the prescribed offerings or tithes. Collectors were deputed by him in every direction to assess a tenth part of all the increase, and to bring it to Medîna.* They were well received, and accomplished their mission without obstruction, excepting only the following instance.

Collectors deputed to gather the tithes. 1st Moharrum, A.H. IX. 20th April, 630.

A branch of the Bani Tamîm chanced to be encamped close at hand, when the tax-gatherer arrived to gather the tithes of a neighbouring tribe. While the herds and flocks of their neighbours were being collected, in order that the tenth might be taken from them the Bani Tamîm, anticipating a similar demand upon themselves, came forward armed with bows and swords, and drove the tax-gatherer away. Mahomet resolved on making a prompt example of the offenders. Uyeina, with fifty of his Arab horsemen,† travelling with haste

The B. Tamim having driven away a tax-gatherer, are attacked, and a number taken prisoners.

* Nine such parties are mentioned by the Secretary as having started, on the first day of the new year, to the following tribes: Tamîm, Aslam, Ghifâr, Suleim, Mozeina, Joheina, Fazâra, Kilab, Bani Kab (Khozâite), Hodeim (?). *K. Wâckidi*, 132. They were instructed to take the best and most unblemished part of the property, but not to interfere with the capital or source of increase; at least, so I read it—

و ام رسول الله مصدقيه ان ياخذوا العفو منهم و يتوقوا كرايم اموا لهم. *K. Wâckidi*, 132½.

† There was not one man either of Mecca or Medina in the party. *K. Wâckidi*, 57½, 132.

and secrecy, fell unexpectedly upon them, and making above fifty prisoners, men, women, and children,—carried them off to Medîna, where they were kept by Mahomet in confinement.*

They send a deputation for their release.

The Bani Tamîm, some of whom had fought by the side of Mahomet at Mecca and Honein, lost no time in sending a deputation, consisting of eighty or ninety persons headed by their chief men,† to beg for the release of the prisoners. As these passed through the streets of Medîna, the captive women and children recognized their friends, and raised a loud cry of distress. Moved by the sight, the chiefs hastened onwards to obtain their liberty. They reached the Mosque, and after waiting impatiently for some time in its spacious court, at last called out in aloud and familiar voice (for they were rude children of the desert,) to Mahomet, who was in one of the female apartments adjoining the hall of audience, — "O Mahomet, come forth unto us!" The Prophet was displeased at their roughness and importunity, for he loved to be addressed in low and submissive accents. But as the mid-day prayer was at hand, he came forth ; and while Bilâl was summoning the people, he entered into discourse with the strangers and listened to their application.

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* Eleven men, eleven women, and thirty children.

† Among them was Acra, one of the chiefs, who had received one hundred camels from Mahomet at Jierrâna. *K. Wâckidi*, 132½.

The prayers being ended, Mahomet seated himself in the court of the Mosque, when a scene occurred illustrative at once of Arab manners, and of the successful readiness with which Mahomet adapted himself to the circumstances of the moment. The chiefs sought leave to contend in rhetoric and poetry with the orators and poets of Medîna.* It was hardly the right issue for Mahomet on which to place his cause; but to have refused would have injured him in the eyes of these wild Bedouins; and the Prophet was confident in the superior eloquence of his followers. So he gave permission. First arose Otârid, the orator of the tribe, and in an harangue of the ordinary boastful style, lauded his own people for their prowess and nobility. When he had ended, Mahomet motioned to Thâbit ibn Cays that he should reply. Thâbit descanted on the glory of Mahomet as a messenger from Heaven, on the devotion of the Refugees, and on the faithful and generous friendship of the citizens of Medîna. He finished by threatening destruction against all who should refuse Islam. Then Zibricân, the Bedouin bard, stood up, and recited poetry, in which he dilated on the greatness and unequalled hospitality of the Bani Tamîm. When he sat down, Hassân the son of Thâbit, by

The poet and orator of the B. Tamim worsted by Thâbit and Hassân.

* Al Acra said—"Give us permission to speak; for, verily, my praise is an ornament and my reproach a disgrace."—"Nay," replied the Prophet, "thou speakest falsely; that may be said of the great and Almighty God alone." *K. Wâckidi*, 58.

Mahomet's command, replied in glowing and well-measured verse. After dwelling upon the more ordinary topics, he ended thus:—

"Children of Dârim!* contend not with us: Your boasting will turn to your shame.

"Ye lie when ye contend with us for glory. What are ye but our Servants, our Nurses, and our Attendants?

"If ye be come to save your lives, and your property, that it may not be distributed as booty;—

"Then make not unto God any equal, embrace Islam, and abandon the wild manners of the Heathen."†

The strangers were astonished at the beauty of Hassân's poetry, and abashed at the force and point of the concluding verses.—"By the Lord!" they said, "how rich is this man's fortune! His poet, as well as his orator, surpasseth ours in eloquence!"

Mahomet liberates the prisoners.

Mahomet liberated their prisoners, and having entertained them hospitably, dismissed the chiefs with rich presents and provisions for the way. All the branches of the tribe which had not yet given in their adhesion were now converted.

Notice of this deputation in the Coran.

But the Prophet did not forget the first rude and impatient address of the Bedouin deputation. To guard against such familiarity for the future, the following divine commandment was promulgated:—

* *Dârim*, an ancestor of the tribe.

† The *orations* are, no doubt, apocryphal; but portions at least, and especially the concluding verses of Hassân's poetical effusion, are probably genuine. There is nothing in the latter anticipative of universal conquest, as there certainly is in the oration of Thâbit. Poetry was more likely to be preserved in its original form than prose. See *Canon* III. E, and note, vol. i. p. lxxxv. The whole poem is given by *M. C. de Perceval*, v. iii. 272.

"O ye that believe! Go not in advance (in any matter) before God and his Prophet; and fear God, for God heareth and knoweth.

"O ye that believe! Raise not your voices above the voice of the Prophet; nor speak loudly in discourse with him as the loud speech of one of you with another, lest your works become vain, and ye perceive it not.

"Verily, they that lower their voices in the presence of the Apostle of God, are those whose hearts God hath disposed unto piety. These shall have pardon and an abundant reward.

"Verily as to those that call unto thee from behind the private apartments, the most part of them understand not.

"If they had waited patiently, until thou wentest forth unto them, it had been better for them. But God is forgiving and merciful."*

Deputation from the B. Mustalick. Muharram, A.H. IX. May, A.D. 630.

The tax-gatherer deputed to the Bani Mustalick, on approaching their encampment, was encountered by a large body of the tribe who went forth on camels to meet him.† Apprehending violence, he fled back to Medîna; and Mahomet was preparing a party to avenge the affront, when a deputation appeared to explain the circumstance. What had been mistaken for hostile preparations, were in reality (they said) marks of joy and welcome. The deputation was received with courtesy. The tax-gatherer was reprehended, and his misconduct deemed not unworthy of a special revelation. Another of his followers was then deputed by Mahomet to levy the tithes and to instruct the people in their religious duties.‡

* *Sura*, xlix. 1-5.

† The Bani Mustalick had held steadily to their profession of Islam.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 132½; *Hishami*, 314. The passage in the Coran relating to this incident is in immediate continuation of that just

Expeditions during the summer of A.H. IX. A.D. 630,

During the summer of this year several lesser expeditions were undertaken for the chastisement of rebellious or recusant tribes.* They are marked only by the ordinary features of surprise, and the capture of prisoners and plunder. The largest of them was directed against a combination of the Abyssinians with the people of Jedda, the nature of which is not clearly explained.† It was, however, deemed by the Prophet of sufficient importance to require the services of an army of three hundred

against the Abyssinians at Jedda. 2nd Rabi, July.

quoted in the matter of the Bani Tamîm, and runs as follows:—"O ye that believe! if an evil man come unto you with intelligence, make careful inquiry, lest ye injure a people through inadvertence, and afterwards repent of what ye have done. And know that, verily, the Apostle of God is amongst you. If he were to listen to you in many matters, ye would fall into sin," &c. *Sura*, ix. 6, 7.

* I may note the following expeditions as given by the *Secretary*, p. 132, *et seq.* besides those given in my text.

In Safar (May) Cotba was sent with twenty camel riders against the B. Khatham, to Besha, near Turba. He surprised and killed many of the tribe, and drove away their camels.

In the 1st Rabî (June) Dhahâk was deputed to Corta to call on the B. Kilâb to embrace Islam. On their refusal, he attacked and discomfited them.

In the 2nd Rabî (July) Okkasha ibn Mohsin was despatched with a force towards the Syrian frontier, to subdue the B. Odzra and Balî, as will be further noticed at the beginning of the following chapter.

† The circumstance is remarkable, and not the less so on account of the brevity of the Secretary, and the silence of the other biographers. *Apparently*, a body of Abyssinians had crossed the Red Sea to join the Arabs of Jedda in opposing Mahomet. Were the eyes of the Najâshi now opened to the futility of the expectation that Mahomet would support Christianity? *K. Wâckidi*, 133.

men. This force reached an island on the shore of the Red Sea which the enemy had made their rendezvous, and forced them to retire.

Campaign against the B. Tay: conversion of the son of Hâtim Tay. 2nd Rabî, July.

About the same time, Ali was sent in command of two hundred horse,* to destroy the temple of Fuls belonging to the Bani Tay, a tribe divided between the profession of Idolatry and the Christian faith.† He performed his mission effectually, and returned with many prisoners and laden with plunder. Amongst the prisoners was the daughter of Hâtim Tay, the Christian Bedouin Arab so famous for his generosity. This chieftain had died many years before; and his son Adî, on the first alarm of Ali's approach, had fled with his family to Syria. His sister prostrated herself at the feet of Mahomet, and told her plaintive story. She was at once released, and presented with a change of raiment and a camel, on which, joining the first Syrian caravan, she went in quest of her brother. At her solicitation, Adî presented himself before the Prophet, and having embraced Islam, was again appointed to the chiefship of his tribe.‡

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* So *K. Wâckidi*, p. 63. At p. 133 the number is given at one hundred and fifty, of whom only fifty were horse, and one hundred men mounted on camels.

† See *Introduction*, vol. i. p. ccxxviii., where there is also a notice of Hâtim Tay.

‡ Or rather to collect the tithes of his tribe. *K. Wâckidi*, 63, 133; *Hishâmi*, 424. There is a long and romantic tale in the latter; but its details are quite apocryphal: *e.g.*, in his conference with Adî, Mahomet bids him not to be scandalized at the present

Conversion of the poet Káb ibn Zoheir.

The submission of the poet, Káb, son of Zoheir, took place about this time. His father was one of the most distinguished poets of Arabia;* and the poetical mantle descended upon several members of his family. After the capture of Mecca, his brother Bojair wrote to warn Káb of the fate which had overtaken certain of the poets there, and urged him either to come in to Medîna, or seek for himself elsewhere a secure asylum. Káb was imprudent enough to reply in verses significant of displeasure at his brother's conversion. Mahomet, highly incensed, gave utterance to threats ominous for the safety of Káb. Again the poet was warned, and urged by his brother to delay no longer. At last, in despair, he resolved to present himself before Mahomet and sue for pardon. A stranger appeared in the Mosque: addressing the Prophet he said, "Káb

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poverty (?) of the Moslems, as the time was at hand when wealth would pour in upon them, so that they would not have room to receive it; neither was he to be offended at the numbers and power of their enemies, as a woman would soon be able to travel in security alone from Cadesia to Mecca; the white towers of Babylon would be conquered, &c. *Hishâmi*, 426.

A deputation from the Bani Tay, headed by their chief, Zeid al Khail, came to Medîna to ransom the prisoners, soon after Ali's expedition. Mahomet was charmed with Zeid, of whose fame, both as a warrior and a poet, he had long heard. He changed his name to Zeid *al Kheir* (the beneficent), granted him a large tract of country, and sent him away laden with presents. See vol. i. p. ccxxviii.

* See his *Moallaca, translated by M. C. de Perceval*, v. ii. 531; see also vol i. p. ccxxvi. *note.*

the son of Zoheir cometh unto thee repentant and believing. Wilt thou give him quarter if I bring him to thee?" The promise having been vouchsafed, the stranger made known that he himself was Káb. To signalize his gratitude, Káb presented to Mahomet the famous "Poem of the Mantle," in which he lauded the generosity and glory of his benefactor. When reciting it in public, he came to this verse:—

> Verily, the Prophet is a Light illuminating the World,
> A naked Sword from the armoury of God,—

Mahomet, unable to restrain his admiration and delight, took his own mantle from off his shoulders and threw it to the poet. The precious gift (from which the poem derived its name,) was treasured up with care. It passed into the hands of the Caliphs, and was by them preserved, as one of the regalia of the empire, until Baghdad was sacked by the Tartars.* To gain over such a poet was no empty triumph, for Káb wielded a real power which was now thrown as a fresh weight into the scale of Islam.

Deputations from Arab tribes.

The Mosque of Mahomet began this year to be the scene of frequent embassies from all quarters

* *Hishâmi*, 389; *C. de Perceval*, iii. 280. The poem has been published by Freytag, with a Latin translation and valuable preface. *Halæ*, 1823. The mantle was bought by the Caliphs from the heirs of Káb for 40,000 dirhems.

The *Khircâ i Sharîfa*, which forms one of the relics at Constantinople, is believed by the Turks to be this self-same mantle. But

A.H. IX., X. A.D. 630, 631.

of Arabia. His supremacy was everywhere recognized; and from the most distant parts of the Peninsula,—from Yemen and Hadhramaut, from Mahra, Omân, and Bahrein, from the borders of Syria and the outskirts of Persia, the tribes hastened to prostrate themselves before the rising potentate, and by an early submission to secure his favour. They were uniformly treated with consideration and courtesy; their representations were received in public in the court of the Mosque, which formed the hall of audience; and there all matters requiring the commands of Mahomet,—the collection of tithes and tribute, the grant of lands, recognition or conferment of authority and office, adjustment of international disputes,—were discussed and settled. Simple though its exterior was, and unpretending its forms and usages, more real power was wielded, and affairs of greater importance transacted in the court-yard of the Mosque of Mahomet, than in many an imperial palace.

Mode in which they were treated.

The messengers and embassies were quartered by Mahomet in the houses of the chief Citizens of Medîna, by whom they were hospitably entertained. On departure they always received an ample sum for the expenses of the road, and generally some

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this is ordinarily understood to have been burned by the Tartar Khan. Others say that the mantle which was burned on that occasion was another, presented by Mahomet to the people of Ayla, on the expedition which will be related in the following chapter. See below, p. 189.

further present corresponding with their rank. A written treaty was often granted, guaranteeing the privileges of the tribe, and not unfrequently a teacher was sent back with the embassy to instruct the newly converted people in the duties of Islam and the requirements of Mahomet, and to see that every remnant of idolatry was obliterated.

The IX. of the Hegira, called "The Year of Deputations."

These embassies having commenced in the ninth year of the Hegira, it is styled in tradition "the year of deputations;" but they were almost equally numerous in the tenth year. It would be tedious and unprofitable to enumerate them all. Those that have been already mentioned, or which will be incidentally noticed in future pages, afford a sufficient specimen of the rest.

The embassy from Najrân noticed in the second volume.

I have before, in its appropriate chapter, described the remarkable embassy from the Christians of Najrân, which visited Medîna about this period.*

* See vol. ii. ch. vii. p. 299. The embassies of the B. Taghlib and B. Hanîfa are also there noticed.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHTH.

Campaign of Tabuk; and other events in the Second Half of the Ninth Year of the Hegira.

October 630, to April 631, A.D.

Gathering of the Roman feudatories on the Syrian border.

DURING the summer of the year 630 A.D., a force had been despatched from Medîna towards the Syrian frontier; it was directed, apparently, against certain disaffected clans of the Bani Odzra and Balî, who since the operations of Khâlid in that quarter were at least nominally the adherents of Mahomet.* Whether to guard against the recurrence of similar marauding inroads, or in consequence of the rumour of Mahomet's growing power and pretensions, the Roman emperor, who is said to have been then at Hims, directed the feudatory tribes of the border to assemble for its protection. This precautionary measure was magnified by travellers and traders,

* *K. Wâckidi*, 133. See above note, p. 176. The expedition was led by Okkâsha ibn Mohsin to al Junâb, in the country of the Bani Odzra and Balî, in the 2nd Rabî, or July. No further particulars are given regarding it. In what follows, I assume that there was really some gathering of the Roman allies on the border, at the instigation of the Emperor or his Governor, to justify the reports which reached Medîna from Syria; and I have given the likeliest cause for such preparations, although it will be seen below that when Mahomet did reach the vicinity he found no troops to oppose him.

arriving from Syria into the assemblage of a great and threatening army. A year's pay, they said, had been advanced by the Emperor, in order that the soldiers might be well furnished for a long campaign; the tribes of the Syrian desert, the Bani Lakhm, Judzâm, Amila, and Ghassân, were flocking around the Roman eagles, and the vanguard was already at Balcâa. Mahomet at once resolved to meet the danger with the largest force he could collect. His custom at other times had been to conceal to the very last the object of an intended march, or rather by pretending to make preparations for a campaign in some other direction, to lull the suspicions of his enemy.* But the journey now in contemplation was so distant, and the heat of the season so excessive, that timely warning was deemed necessary in order that the necessities of the way might be foreseen and provided for.

Mahomet projects a counter-expedition. Autumn, A.H. IX. A.D. 630.

All his adherents and allies, the inhabitants of Mecca as well as the Bedouin Arabs, received from Mahomet an urgent summons to join the army. But the Arabs of the desert and the citizens of Medîna showed little inclination to obey the command. The anticipated hardships of the journey, the long-continued drought and overpowering heat, and perhaps the memory of the execution done by the Roman phalanx at Mûta, made them loth to

Backwardness of the Bedouins and of some of the Medîna citizens.

* *Hishâmi*, 392.

quit the ease and shelter of their homes. Multitudes pleaded inability and other frivolous excuses. These pleas were accepted when tendered by the men of Medîna, for Mahomet, conscious of the debt of gratitude he owed their city, always treated them with tenderness.* But the Arab tribes were refused permission to remain behind.†

Exemplary zeal of the true believers.

On the other hand, extraordinary eagerness pervaded the ranks of all the earnest and faithful Moslems. Tithes poured in from every direction, and many of the chief men at Medîna vied with one another in the costliness of their gifts. The contribution of Othmân, which surpassed all others, amounted to one thousand dinars. From these sources carriage and supplies were provided for the poorer soldiers; though, after every effort, they did not suffice for all who longed to share in the merit or in the spoils, of the campaign. A party for whom Mahomet could make no provision, retired in tears from his presence, and their names are embalmed in tradition under the title of *The Weepers*.‡

* An exception to such tender treatment is stated by Hishâmi. Mahomet heard that certain disaffected citizens were assembling in the house of a converted Jew, and were stirring up the people against the expedition to Tabûk. So he sent Talha with a company of men to burn the house over their heads;—which effectually dispersed the clique: p. 198. The Secretary does not give this tradition.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 134; *Hishâmi*, 392.

‡ *Al Bakkâ-ûn*. The word is the same as that employed in Judges ii. 1, 5, where a place is named *Bochim*, or "Weepers,"

Arrangements at Medina on Mahomet's departure.

At last the army was marshalled and encamped in the outskirts of the city. Abu Bakr was appointed to conduct the prayers in the encampment until the Prophet himself should assume command. Muhammad son of Maslama was placed in charge of the city, and Ali also was left behind to take care of the Prophet's family.* Abdallah ibn Obey pitched a separate camp for his numerous adherents near the main army; but eventually, as it would appear with the consent of Mahomet, he remained behind.†

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because the children of Israel wept there. The *Weepers* are praised in *Sura*, ix. v. 94, which alludes to the present occasion.

* Perhaps the affair of Mary may have induced Mahomet to make special precautions against any outbreak of jealousy among his wives during his absence. A story is told in *Hishâmi*, of the "Disaffected" going to Ali and telling him that Mahomet had left him behind because he would be a burden to him on the expedition. Ali, indignant at the reproach, put on his armour and hurried out to the camp at Jorf; there he told his grievance to Mahomet, who said, "They lie: I left thee behind in charge of my family and thine. Art thou not satisfied to be towards me as Aaron was to Moses, excepting only that after me no other Prophet shall arise" (and therefore the dignity is in thy case greater)? On this Ali returned satisfied to Medîna. The incident is not related by the Secretary, and it appears like an Abbasside invention to explain why Ali was left behind.

† There is some doubt as to whether Abdallah stayed behind by permission or not; but v. 45, *Sura* ix. (which will be quoted below), and the express declaration of the Secretary (*K. Wâckidi*, 133½), that the excuses of the people of Medîna were accepted, support the text. Abdallah was probably old and infirm, for he died five or six months afterwards. What was the nature of the pretexts his followers brought forward, does not appear; but they were probably among those so severely handled by Mahomet in the Coran on his return. [Abdallah's

The army marches for Tabûk. Rajab, A.H. IX. Sept., Oct., A.D. 630.

The army, after all these diminutions, was probably the largest effective force ever before put in motion in Arabia. Its numbers are given, though probably with some exaggeration, at thirty thousand, of whom no less than ten thousand are said to have been cavalry. The march was marked only by the heat and discomfort of the way, and by the want of water. A curious scene occurred at the valley of Hejer, whose rocky sides were hewn out (according to local tradition) into dwellings, by the rebellious and impious Thamudites. The army having alighted there and drawn water from its refreshing fountains, began to prepare their food, when suddenly a proclamation was made through the ranks that none should drink of the water or use it for their ablutions, that the dough which had been kneaded should be given to the camels, and that no one should go forth alone by night: "Enter not the houses of the transgressors, except with lamentation, lest that overtake you which happened unto them." On the morrow, a plentiful shower of rain, ascribed to the miraculous intervention of the Prophet, compensated for the loss of the wells of Hejer.*

Valley of Hejer.

Abdallah's camp is mentioned as not inferior to the other in numbers. This, of course, cannot mean the general camp, which numbered (it is said) thirty thousand men; but the separate encampment of the *Ansâr* or Medina citizens, who formed a comparatively small body.

* See vol. i. p. cxxxix.; *Hishâmi*, 396. The story is not confirmed by the Secretary. Hishâmi deals greatly in the

Having reached Tabûk, where there was plenty of shade and water, the army halted. The rumours of the Roman invasion had by this time melted away. There was nothing at the present moment to threaten the border, or engage the attention of Mahomet in that direction. So he contented himself with sending a strong detachment under Khâlid to Dûma, and with receiving the adhesion of the Jewish and Christian tribes on the shores of the Ælanitic gulph, towards the east of which he was now encamped.

The army halts at Tabûk: and Mahomet opens communications with surrounding tribes.

To the chief of these, John, the Christian Prince of Ayla,* or Acaba, Mahomet addressed a letter, summoning him to submit, on pain of being attacked

Treaty with John, Christian Prince of Ayla;—

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marvellous regarding the journey. The tale of two men who, neglecting Mahomet's caution, went out alone, and were maltreated by the evil spirits,—one having his neck wrenched, and the other being carried by the wind to the hills of the Bani Tai, is told by Hishâmi with his usual gravity. So also the following:—By the way, they came to a trickling fountain, where hardly two or three men could have slaked their thirst. Mahomet bade none to touch it before himself. But the prohibition was not attended to. Coming up, he found it empty, and cursed the men who had disobeyed him. Then he took up a little of the water in his hand, and sprinkling the rock, wiped it with his hand and prayed over it. Floods of water immediately gushed forth, with a noise as it had been thunder, and all drank thereof. Mahomet said, "Whosoever of you shall survive the longest, will hear of this valley being greener with trees and verdure than any other round about;"—meaning that the great stream now created would be permanent. *Hishâmi*, 401; see also a tradition at p. lxxii. vol. i. *note*.

* *Malik:* prince or king.

by his great army.* The Prince, with a cross of gold upon his forehead, hastened to the camp of Mahomet, and bowed himself reverentially in his presence. He was received with kindness, and Bilâl was commanded to entertain him hospitably. The following treaty was concluded with him:—

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 53½. I have no reason to doubt the genuineness of this letter. It is as follows:—"*To John ibn Rûbah and the Chiefs of Aylah.* Peace be on you! I praise God for you, beside whom there is no Lord. I will not fight against you until I have written thus unto you. Believe, or else pay tribute. And be obedient unto the Lord and his Prophet, and the messengers of his Prophet. Honour them and clothe them with excellent vestments, not with inferior raiment. Specially clothe Zeid with excellent garments. As long as my messengers are pleased, so likewise am I. Ye know the tribute. If ye desire to have security by sea and by land, obey the Lord and his Apostle, and he will defend you from every claim, whether by Arab or foreigner, saving the claim of the Lord and his Apostle. But if ye oppose and displease them, I will not accept from you a single thing, until I have fought against you and taken captive your little ones and slain the elder. For I am the Apostle of the Lord in truth. Believe in the Lord and in his Prophets, and in the Messiah, son of Mary; verily he is the Word of God: I believe in him that he was a messenger of God. Come then, before trouble reach you. I commend my messengers to you. Give to Harmala three measures of barley. And indeed Harmala hath interceded for you. As for me, if it were not for the Lord and for this (intercession), I would not have sent any message at all unto you, until ye had seen the army. But now, if ye obey my messengers, God will be your protector, and Mahomet, and whosoever belongeth unto him. Now my messengers are Sharahbîl and Obey, and Harmala and Horeith ibn Zeid. Unto you is the guarantee of God and of Mahomet his Apostle, and peace be unto you if ye submit. And convey the people of Macna back to their land."

"*In the name of God the Gracious and Merciful:*— A compact of peace from God, and from Mahomet the Prophet and Apostle of God, granted unto Yuhanna (John) the son of Rûbah, and unto the people of Ayla. For them who remain at home,* and for those that travel abroad by sea or by land, there is the guarantee of God and the guarantee of Mahomet the Apostle of God, and for all that are with them, whether they belong to Syria, or to Yemen, or to the sea coast. Whoso contraveneth this treaty, his wealth shall not save him; it shall be the fair prize of him that taketh it. Now it shall not be lawful to hinder the men of Ayla from any springs which they have been in the habit of frequenting, nor from any passage they desire to make, whether by sea or by land. This is the writing of Juheim and Sharahbîl, by command of the Apostle of God."†

In token of his approbation, Mahomet presented John with a mantle of striped Yemen stuff, and dismissed him honourably. The tribute was fixed at three hundred dinars in the year.‡

Who was dismissed with honour.

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* سقيم I am not quite sure of the proper rendering.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 57; *Hishâmi*, 400. The treaty is evidently genuine. The variations in the two authors are very slight, consisting only of the transposition of a word or so. The original was no doubt retained as a precious charter of right by the chiefs of Ayla. *For the credibility of this species of evidence, see Canon* III. D. vol. i. p. lxxxi.

‡ *Ibid.* The annual rate was a dinar a head, there being three hundred persons or families in the town. The mantle has been alluded to in a former note, p. 179.

Terms made with the Jews of Macna, Adzrûh and Jarbâ.

At the same time deputations from the Jewish settlements of Macna, Adzrûh, and Jarbâ, presented themselves with a tender of submission to the Prophet. To each was given a rescript, specifying the amount of their tribute, and binding them to afford refuge and aid to any Moslem travellers or merchants who might stand in need of their good offices.*

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* As these treaties are genuine and interesting, I give their substance.

First: Rescript given to the Bani Janbah, a Jewish tribe of "Macna, and to the people of Macna (now Macna is near Ayla). Your messengers came unto me on their way home. Now when this my letter reacheth you, ye are safe under the guarantee of God and of his Apostle. Verily the Apostle hath forgiven you your faults and all your crimes: and unto you is vouchsafed the protection of God and his Apostle. There shall no oppression be practised against you. Verily the Apostle of God is your protector against all that he defendeth himself from. Now unto the Apostle of God belongeth the cloth that ye make, and every slave amongst you (?), and the cattle, and the arms, excepting what the Apostle or his messenger shall remit. Now after this condition, a fourth of your dates, and a fourth of the fish which ye capture in your rafts (عروك), and a fourth of what your women spin, it will be incumbent upon you to pay: and thereafter ye shall be free from every other tax or demand. And if ye hearken and obey, the Prophet of God will be gracious unto the excellent amongst you, and will pardon the wicked. Now of the Moslems, whoso treateth the people of Macna well, it shall be well for him, and whoso treateth them ill, it shall be ill for him. And there shall no chief be set over you, but one of yourselves, or one of the people of the Prophet. Peace be to you!" *K. Wâckidi*, 53½.

Second. The following despatch was copied by Wâckidi, apparently from the original: "In the name of God, &c. This writing is from Mahomet the Prophet to the people of Adzrûh,—to the effect that they are included in the truce of God and in the

Having concluded these matters, Mahomet quitted Tabûk, after having halted there for twenty days, and returned to Medîna. He reached home in the beginning of Ramadhân, or December A.D. 630.*

Mahomet returns to Medina. Ramadhân IX. Dec. 630.

Meanwhile Khâlid had been travelling across the desert from Tabûk to Dûma, with four hundred and twenty horse, the flower of the army. So rapidly did he march, and so unexpectedly appear before Dûma, that Okeidar,† the Christian chief, was surprised by him while hunting with his followers a

Khâlid conquers Dûma, and takes the Chief prisoner to Medina.

truce of Mahomet. They are to pay one hundred dinars every year, in Rajab, full weight and good money. And God is their guarantee that they shall behave towards the Moslems with probity and kindness. And whoever of the Moslems taketh refuge with them from danger and in quest of assistance, in case there should be ground of fear for such Moslems, and they are themselves in security (they are to protect them) until they hear that Mahomet is preparing to set out (for their aid)." *K. Wâckidi*, 57. A proof of the authenticity of this document is that "Mahomet" is mentioned throughout by his simple name without either the affix *Prophet* or *Apostle*, or the reverential addition, "Prayers and blessings be on him." Such affixes were, in general, later additions by the pious transcriber. Another version of the same treaty is given, addressed to the Jews of both Jarbâ and Adzrûh; but from it is omitted the latter part, regarding aid to be rendered to the Moslems,—probably as being derogatory to Islam.

* I may allude here to a miraculous tale by Wâckidi regarding the deputation of the B. Fazâra, who waited on Mahomet on his way back, and complained of the prevailing drought. He prayed for rain, and it rained without intermission, so that the sky was not seen for six whole days; then again at their entreaty he prayed that they might be relieved from the inundation, and forthwith "the clouds cleared off, as it had been a garment rolled up." *K. Wâckidi*, 58½.

† Hishâmi embellishes his story, as usual, with miraculous details. Mahomet *foretold* to Khâlid that he would find Okeidar

a wild cow. Khâlid pursued the party, and after a short struggle, in which Hassân the chief's brother was killed, took Okeidar captive. His life was spared on condition that the gates of Dûma should be at once thrown open. The city was ransomed at two thousand camels, eight hundred sheep, and four hundred suits of mail, and as many stand of arms. With this booty, and carrying with him Okeidar and another brother, Khâlid returned to Medîna.*

The Chief embraces Islam.

The Christian chief, wearing a golden cross, and clothed in raiment of velvet which attracted the admiration of the simple citizens of Medîna, was brought to the Prophet,† who pressed him to embrace Islam. The inducements presented by the

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hunting the wild cow. It was a moonlight night when Khâlid came in view of the Fort. Okeidar, with his family, was on the roof of his castle, when just then a wild cow came and rubbed her horns noisily against the lower gate of the fortress. Okeidar at once saddled his horse and went in pursuit of it, and Khâlid surprised him thus engaged :—p. 400.

* I conclude that Khâlid marched back to Medina by the direct route. Dûma is spoken of as fifteen days' march from Medina; though Wallen makes it (*i.e.* Jâl al Jawf) not more than *nine*. See the 24*th No. Journal R. Geog. Society*, p. 151. The traditional accounts are a good deal confused, so much so as in some places to make it appear as if Khâlid rejoined Mahomet at Tabûk. But the most consistent traditions point to his rejoining him at Medina.

† They stripped Hassân of his silken or velvet dress, which was lined with gold. The Moslems greatly admired it; whereupon Mahomet said, "I swear by him in whose hand is my life, that the very handkerchiefs of Sád ibn Muâdz (the Judge in the tragedy of the Coreitza) in Paradise, are more gorgeous than these

new religion proved too strong for his faith in Christianity, and he was admitted to the favoured terms of a Moslem ally.*

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vestments." A similar speech is attributed to Mahomet, in reference to a silken or velvet dress said to have been presented to him by the Roman Emperor, and which Mahomet sent as a gift to the Najâshy. *K. Wâckidi*, 89.

* Wâckidi says, that an old man, a resident of Dûma, showed him a letter which the Prophet wrote to Keidar (or Okeidar); and he gives us the following copy, taken by himself *from the original:* "In the name of God, &c.;—from Mahomet the Prophet of God to Keidar (when he accepted Islam and put away from him the images and idols, by the hand of Khâlid, the Sword of God,) regarding Dûma of the waters of Jandal and its environs: To Mahomet belongeth the unoccupied land with its streams and fountains, its unenclosed and fallow ground, and the armour, weapons, camels, and forts; and to you belongeth the occupied land with the fruit-bearing date-trees, and springs of water, after payment of the fifth. Your cattle shall not be molested in grazing on the waste lands; that which is ordinarily exempt from tithe (*farîda*) shall not be taxed; the old date-trees shall not be taxed, excepting the tenth thereof: so as that they observe prayer regularly, and pay the tithes faithfully. A true and faithful treaty. God is witness thereto, and all that are present of the Moslems." *K. Wâckidi*, 56½. Another treaty is given at p. 65; at what period it was written does not appear: perhaps later than the above, or it may have been given to some older converts, as the terms seem more favourable. Hamal ibn Sâdânah and Hâritha ibn Cutn came as ambassadors from the B. Kalb, who chiefly inhabited the territory of Dûma. Mahomet gave the former a banner which he carried at Siffîn on Muâvia's side. He gave to Hâritha the following treaty: "The writing of Mahomet, the Apostle of God, to the people of Dûmat al Jandal, and its dependencies of the tribes of Kalb, together with Hâritha ibn Cutn;—to me belong the outlying lands and trees; and to you the enclosed date-trees; one tenth shall be taken of those on running water, and one twentieth of those not on running water (*i. e.* artificially irrigated)," &c.

Dûma must in former times have enjoyed much greater pros-

The malingerers chided in the Coran;

When Mahomet returned to Medîna, those of his followers who had remained behind without permission came forward to exculpate themselves. Mahomet reserved his reproaches to be embodied in a special revelation. He thus avoided the odium that would have attached to a personal rebuke proceeding directly from himself, while the admonition came with all the force of a message from Heaven. The ninth Sura, the latest of all in chronological order, abounds with invectives against the disaffected "hypocrites," who still lingered in Medîna, generally, and against those in particular who had neglected the order to join the late expedition. The following passages will suffice as examples:—

"O ye that believe! What ailed you, that when it was said unto you, *Go forth to war in the ways of God*, ye inclined heavily towards the earth? What! do ye prefer the present life before that which is to come?

"If ye go not forth to war, he will punish you with a grievous punishment, and he will substitute another people for you: and ye shall not hurt him at all; for God is over all things powerful.

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perity than it does now, as the considerable remains of buildings and works of irrigation shew. There are several towns in the vicinity. See Wallin's interesting account of his journey to it (*i. e.* to Jâl al Jawf) quoted above. It was probably one of the outlying towns to which Abdal Rahmân came on a former expedition, and married the daughter of its chief.

The mercenary character of Okeidar's conversion led him to revolt after Mahomet's death. What the images and idols spoken of in the above-quoted treaty refer to, whether Christian or heathen, does not appear.

—"If it had been plunder close at hand, and an easy journey, they had surely followed thee. But the way seemed long unto them. They will swear unto thee by God, *If we had been able we had gone forth with you.* They destroy their own souls: for God knoweth that they are Liars.

"The Lord pardon thee! Wherefore didst thou give them leave, until thou hadst distinguished those that speak the truth, and known the Liars?* * * *

"If they had gone forth with thee, they had only added weakness to you, and had run to and fro amongst you, stirring up sedition. And amongst you, some had listened to them; for God knoweth the unjust.

"Verily they sought to stir up sedition aforetime; and they disturbed thy affairs until the Truth came, and the command of God was made manifest, although they were averse thereto.†

"Among them there is that saith, *Give me leave to remain, and throw me not into temptation.* What! have they not fallen into temptation already? Verily, Hell shall compass the Unbelievers round about."‡

and the hypocrites.

The hypocrites, and the persons who privately scoffed and jested at the true faith, and at those who spent their money in its propagation, are reprobated bitterly. Mahomet might pray for them seventy

* From this it would appear that Mahomet repented afterwards that he had so easily and indiscriminately accepted the excuses of those to whom he gave permission to remain behind.

† Alluding to the conduct of the "disaffected" at the battle of Ohod, or perhaps to the affair on the Mustalick expedition.

‡ *Sura*, ix. 39-51. Tradition assigns this last verse to the case of a man who begged Mahomet to excuse him from the campaign, as he feared the attractions of the Greek women. But a great number of the stories belonging to this campaign may be suspected (on the analogy of similar traditions regarding other texts) to have been fabricated to suit the passages of the Coran they were brought to illustrate.

times; it would avail nothing with God for their pardon—

"They said, *Go not forth to war in the heat.* Say, the fire of Hell is a fiercer heat, if they understood.

"Wherefore they shall laugh little and weep much, for that which they have wrought."*

Mahomet not to pray for them on their death.

These unfaithful followers are never more to be allowed the opportunity of going forth to fight with Mahomet—"Neither do thou ever pray over any of them that shall die, nor stand over his grave, for they do reject God and his Prophet, and they shall die transgressors."†

The Bedouins specially reprobated.

The Arabs of the desert, who were the chief offenders, because they had stayed away notwithstanding the direct refusal of leave, are censured unsparingly for their disobedience;—ignorant, stubborn, unbelieving, fickle,—"they watched but the changes of fortune."‡

"Turn from them. They are an abomination. Their resting-place shall be hell-fire, the reward of that which they have wrought."§

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* *Sura*, ix. 83—86.

† *Ibid.* v. 86. This is ordinarily applied to Abdallah ibn Obey. But I take it to have a wider scope, and to have no personal or special reference to him. He was probably, as before observed, infirm and unfit for the active duties of a campaign by this time.

‡ *Ibid.* v. 100. A character sufficiently substantiated by their universal rebellion on the death of Mahomet.

§ *Ibid.* v. 97.

Those believers who did not dissemble their fault, but honestly confessed it, were the most leniently dealt with :— Such as confessed, more leniently treated.

"And others have acknowledged their offences ; they have mingled a good action with another that is evil. Haply God will be turned unto them, for God is forgiving and merciful.

"Take offerings of their substance, that thou mayst cleanse them and purify them thereby ; and pray for them, for thy prayers will restore tranquillity unto them.

"And there are others waiting the command of God, whether he will punish them, or whether he will be turned unto them, for God is knowing and wise."*

The last verse refers to Kâb ibn Mâlik, a poet, who had done good service to Mahomet, and to two other believers, who had incurred his special displeasure. They had no pretext to offer for their absence from the army, and their bad example had encouraged the hesitating and disaffected citizens in their neglect of the Prophet's summons. These could not with any show of justice be reprimanded or punished, if the far more serious offence of those three his professed followers were passed over. A ban was therefore placed upon them. They were cut off from all intercourse with the people, and even with their own wives and families. Fifty days passed thus miserably, and the lives of the three men became a burden to them. At length the heart of Mahomet relented ; and, by the delivery of the following revelation, he received them back into his favour :— Kâb and his two companions: a ban put upon them.

* *Sura*, 104-108.

"Verily, God is reconciled unto the Prophet, and unto the Refugees and the men of Medîna,* those who followed him in the hour of difficulty,† after that the hearts of a part of them had nearly swerved. Thereafter he turned to them, for he is compassionate unto them and merciful.

"And he is likewise reconciled unto the Three;—those that were left behind, so that the earth became straitened unto them with all its spaciousness, and their souls became straitened within them, and they felt that there was no refuge from God but by fleeing unto him;—then he turned unto them, for God is easy to be reconciled, and merciful."‡

Káb received back into favour.

After the promulgation of this passage, Káb was again treated by Mahomet as before with kindness and consideration.§

Mahomet destroys a Mosque at Coba.

The displeasure of the Prophet was also at this time kindled against a party at Coba, who had built a Mosque there, and desired Mahomet that he would come and consecrate it by praying in it himself. As he was at the moment preparing to start for

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* *Muhâjerîn* and *Ansârs*, as before explained.

† *i.e.* the journey to Tabûk, hence called in tradition "the campaign of difficulty."

‡ *Sura*, ix. 119, 120.

§ There is a long and tedious account of the affair from Káb himself, in which he admits that he was never better off in his life, than when called on to join the army. He had property at Kheibar besides; and had therefore no excuse for staying behind. *Hishâmi*, 404. He says that, while under the ban, a Nabathean merchant arrived with a letter to him from the Ghassânide Prince, written on silk, intimating that he had heard how ill Mahomet had used him, and desiring that he would join his court;—which Káb says was the crisis of his calamity, viz. that he should be suspected of the possibility of treason. It is a groundless story.

Tabûk, he deferred to comply with their request until his return. Meanwhile he received information that the new Mosque was built with a sectarian and hostile bias, to draw off men from the original Mosque at Coba, and even to afford shelter to certain disaffected persons. On his return from Tabûk, therefore, he not only sent a party to destroy the new edifice, but gave utterance to the following command from the Almighty:—

"There are men who have builded a Mosque with evil purpose, out of unbelief, to make divisions among the Unbelievers, and as a lurking place for him that hath fought against God and his Apostle aforetime.* Yet they will swear, *Verily we intended nothing but good.* But God beareth witness that they are Liars.

"Stand not up (for prayer) therein for ever. There is a Mosque which from the first day hath been founded upon piety. It is more just that thou shouldest stand up therein;—

"Therein are men that love to be purified: for God loveth the Pure.

"What, therefore? Whether is he better that hath builded his foundations upon the fear of God and his good pleasure, or he that hath built his foundations upon the brink of a crumbling bank, to be swept away with him into the fire of Hell: for God doth not guide the race of transgressors.

"The building which they have built shall not cease to be a

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* The biographers do not mention who is here alluded to. The *Commentators* specify Abu Amir the hermit, whom I have noticed elsewhere: see vol. iii. p. 167. After the battle of Honein he is said to have fled to Syria. There is no evidence to support this conjecture, although not in itself altogether improbable; the passage more probably refers to some other person *outwardly a convert*, whom Mahomet feared as likely to create a secret combination against him. This description would not apply to Amu Amir.

cause of doubting in their hearts, until their hearts be cut in pieces. And God is knowing and wise."*

Death of Abdallah ibn Obey.

About two months after the return of Mahomet from Tabûk, Abdallah ibn Obey, the leader of the disaffected citizens at Medîna, died. Mahomet had almost uniformly followed the advice given to him on his first arrival in the city, to deal tenderly with this chief. Except on occasion of the rupture which occurred on the march back from the Bani Mustalick, when the Sixty-third Sura was revealed, and one or two other occasions when Abdallah openly took the part of his Jewish confederates, the Prophet was careful to avoid any harsh or humiliating treatment which might have driven him, with his large and influential body of adherents, into open and active opposition. This course was observed to the last. Mahomet prayed over his corpse, thereby professing to recognize Abdallah as having been a faithful Moslem; he walked behind the bier to the grave, and waited there till the ceremonies of the funeral were ended.

The faction of the Disaffected dies out with him.

After Abdallah, there was no one left in the ranks of the disaffected party possessed of power or influence. There was none whom Mahomet needed any longer to treat with delicacy or caution. The faction had died out.†

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* *Sura*, ix. 109–112.

† Abdallah ibn Obey, as I have remarked before, is in tradition the impersonation of hypocrisy and disaffection. Most of the

Mahomet tells his followers that war shall be carried on by Islam even till Antichrist appear.

The campaign to Tabûk was the last expedition undertaken during the Prophet's lifetime. The following curious tradition, if authentic, shews how little the real spirit of Islam, as aggressive and tending necessarily to universal conquest, had yet dawned upon the understanding of the people, although the principles from which such a conclusion was legitimately to be deduced, had long been inculcated by Mahomet. Looking around them, and seeing no enemy remain,—the Romans even having retired and left them alone in their deserts, the followers of the Prophet began to sell their arms, saying, "The wars for religion now are ended." But when this reached the ears of Mahomet, he forbade it:—"There shall not cease," he said, "from

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passages impugning the "Disaffected" are construed to refer to him: *e.g. Sura*, ix. vv. 82 and 86,—forbidding Mahomet to pray over, or attend the funeral of, the disobedient malingerers. But tradition here, as elsewhere, evidently makes a scapegoat of Abdallah. The context alludes to great numbers who had incurred Mahomet's anger, and some of them much more than Abdallah, for he apparently had received the Prophet's permission to remain behind, however much he may afterwards have regretted that he had given it. It is evident from his being at the funeral, that Mahomet continued his forbearance to Abdallah till the last. But as the faction of the "Disaffected" broke up soon after Abdallah's death, it was natural for tradition to refer to him the reprehensions directed against the party of which he was the head.

The fact that so few of the names have been preserved of others against whom the rebukes in the passages I have quoted were addressed, may be accounted for by the rapidity with which this party threw off their disaffection, and made a real and hearty profession of the Moslem faith.

the midst of my people a party engaged in crusades for the truth, even until Antichrist appear."*

Provision made for the study of theology, notwithstanding.

Pointing to this normal state of warfare, is the following passage in the Ninth Sura, which makes provision, notwithstanding this normal state of warfare, for the maintenance of students and teachers of religion:

"It is not necessary that the whole body of Believers should go forth to war. If a certain number from every party go not forth to war, it is that they may give themselves to study in religion, and may admonish their people when they return (from the wars) unto them, so that they may take heed unto themselves."†

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 133½.

† *Sura* ix. v. 124.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINTH.

Embassy from Tâyif; and Pilgrimage of Abu Bakr.

Ramadhân to Dzul Cada, A.H. IX. *December,* 630 *to March,* 631 A.D.

Tâyif continues to resist Mahomet's authority.

It was now ten months since Mahomet had raised the siege of Tâyif. The citizens were still wedded to idolatry, and they maintained a sullen isolation.

Martyrdom of Orwa. A.H. IX. A.D. 630.

Orwa, a chief of Tâyif, who will be remembered as one of the ambassadors of the Coreish to the Moslem camp at Hodeibia,* was absent during the siege of his native city, having gone to Yemen to be instructed in the use of warlike engines for its defence. On his return, finding that all Mecca and the surrounding tribes, excepting the men of Tâyif, had submitted to Mahomet, and being himself favourably impressed with what he had seen of the Prophet at Hodeibia, Orwa went in quest of him to Medîna, and there embraced Islam. His first generous impulse was to return to Tâyif, and invite his fellow citizens to share in the blessings imparted by the new faith. Mahomet, well knowing their bigotry and ignorance, warned him repeatedly of the danger he would incur; but Orwa, presuming on his popularity at Tâyif, persisted in

* See above, p. 29.

the design. Arriving in the evening, he made public his conversion, and called upon the people to join him. They retired to consult upon the matter. In the morning, ascending the top of his house, he called out at the pitch of his voice the cry to prayer. Hearing this, the rabble ran together; and some discharged arrows at him, by one of which he was mortally wounded in the arm. His family and friends rallied around him, but it was too late. He had offered up, he said, his blood unto its master for the sake of his people: he blessed God, with his dying breath, for the honour of martyrdom; and he prayed his friends to bury him by the side of the Moslems who had fallen at Honein. When the tidings reached Mahomet, he lauded the memory of Orwa. "He may be compared," was his exclamation, "to the Prophet Yâsîn, who called his people to believe in the Lord, and they slew him."*

The people of Tâyif send an embassy to Mahomet. Ramadhân, A.H. IX. Dec. A.D. 630.

The martyrdom of Orwa compromised the inhabitants of Tâyif, and forced them to continue the hostile course they had previously been pursuing. But they began to suffer severely from the marauding attacks of the Bani Hawâzin under Mâlik. That chief, according to his engagement,† maintained an unceasing predatory warfare against them. The cattle were cut off in their pasture lands, and at their watering places; and at last no man was safe beyond the walls of the city.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 61.

† Above, p. 155.

"We have not strength," they said among themselves, "to fight against the Arab tribes all around, that have plighted their faith to Mahomet, and bound themselves to fight in his cause." So they sent a deputation to Medîna, consisting of six chiefs with fifteen or twenty followers, who reached their destination a fortnight after the return of the army from Tabûk. Mughîra (nephew of the martyr Orwa),* meeting the embassy in the outskirts of the city, hastened to announce the approach of the strangers to the Prophet, who received them gladly, and pitched a tent for their accommodation close by the Mosque. Every evening after supper he visited them there, and instructed them in the faith, till it was dark. They freely communicated their apprehensions to him. As for themselves, they declared that they were quite ready at once to destroy their great idol, Tâghia (or Lât); but the ignorant amongst the men, and especially the women, were devoted to the worship, and would be alarmed at its demolition. If the idol were left for three years, and the people meanwhile familiarized with the requirements of Islam, the wishes of the Prophet might then without difficulty be carried into effect. But Mahomet would not consent. Two years,—one year,—six months,—were asked successively, and successively refused. "The grace of one month might surely be conceded;"

* See above, p. 29. He says he was at the time feeding Mahomet's camels, a duty which, it is added, each of his followers performed in turn.

but Mahomet was firm. Islam and the idol could not co-exist. The idol must fall without a single day's delay. They then begged to be excused performance of the daily prayers, and that some one else might be deputed to destroy the image. "As for the demolition of the idol with your own hands," replied Mahomet, "I will dispense with that; but prayer is indispensable. Without prayer religion would be nothing." "In that case," said they, "we shall perform it, though it be a degradation." They also pleaded hard that the forest of Wajj, a famous preserve for the chase in the vicinity of Tâyif, should be declared inviolate. To this Mahomet acceded; and the embassy having finally tendered their allegiance, were dismissed with a rescript to the effect, —"that neither the trees nor the wild animals of Wajj should be intermeddled with. Whoever was found transgressing there should be scourged, and his garments seized. If he transgressed again, he was to be sent to the Prophet. This is the command of Mahomet the Apostle of God."*

Having been admitted to terms their idol Tâghia is destroyed by Mughira.

Abu Sofiân and Mughîra, both men of influence with the tribe, were deputed by Mahomet to accompany the strangers, and destroy their idol. Mughîra,

* This rescript is given similarly, both in substance and expression, by Hishâmi and the Secretary, but is fuller in the former. *Hishâmi*, 412; *K. Wâckidi*, 56. In both is added, "Khâlid ibn Saîd wrote this by command of Mahomet the Prophet, son of Abdallah: let no one, therefore, wrong his own soul by transgressing that which Mahomet the Apostle of God hath commanded."

wielding a pick-axe, and surrounded by a guard of armed men from amongst his immediate relatives, proceeded to the work, and, amid the cries and lamentations of the women, with his own hand hewed the image to the ground. The debts of the martyr Orwa were defrayed from the jewels and spoil of the temple.*

Tâyif the only place where the destruction of an idol excited sympathy.

Tâyif is remarkable as the only place where a strong demonstration of popular feeling attended the fate of any of the idols of Arabia. Everywhere else they appear to have been destroyed without sympathy and without a pang.

Mahomet does not go up to the yearly Pilgrimage. Dzul Hijj. A.H. IX. March, A.D 631.

The sacred season of annual pilgrimage now again drew near. Mahomet had hitherto abstained from being present at its ceremonies because the great mass of the pilgrims were heathens, and mingled idolatrous practices with the holy rites. The same cause kept him away from the present festival. But he resolved that this should be the last in which the pilgrimage would be dishonoured by unworthy customs, and the holy places polluted by the presence of unbelievers. He was now strong enough to banish heathenism entirely and for ever from his native city. When thus purified, the ceremonies might, without compromising his holy office, be performed by himself in the succeeding year.

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* The son and nephew of Orwa had fled to Medîna after his martyrdom. Mahomet was prevailed on to allow the debts of the nephew also to be defrayed from the proceeds of the temple.

Abu Bakr's Pilgrimage. The "Discharge," (Barâat) committed to Ali for publication.

The caravan of pilgrims from Medîna was therefore limited on the present occasion to three hundred men, with Abu Bakr as their chief. Shortly after its departure the opening verses of the Ninth Sura were revealed, with the view of carrying out the object above explained. The passage is styled *Barâat*, or "liberty," because Mahomet is therein discharged, after the expiry of four months, from any obligations otherwise devolving upon him towards the heathen Arabs. This important record was committed to Ali, who was despatched after the caravan. When he had reached it and communicated the nature of his errand, Abu Bakr inquired whether the Prophet had put him in command over the pilgrimage. "No," replied Ali, "but he hath directed me to recite this revelation in the ears of all the people."*

Ali publishes the *Barâat*. 10th Dzul Hijj, A.H. IX. 20th March, 631.

Towards the close of the pilgrimage, on the great day of sacrifice,† at the place of casting stones near Minâ,‡ Ali read aloud to the multitudes who crowded

* *K. Wâckidi*, 134. According to Hishâmi, Mahomet said that no one should deliver this revelation to the people but a man of his own family. The reason, however, of his not giving it to Abu Bakr was probably his imperfect scholarship. *Hishâmi*, 413.

† *Youm al Nahr*. See *Burton*, iii. 240. That this was in Dzul Hijj, all authorities agree, excepting Mujâhid, who says it occurred in Dzul Cada; *K. Wâckidi*, 137½. I shall have to consider this tradition more at length below, in connection with Dr. Sprenger's theory, that the Greater pilgrimage was not confined to Dzul Hijj.

‡ *Jamra*. *K. Wâckidi, ibid.* See *Burton*, ii. 282, and his picture of the spot.

round him in the narrow pass, the heavenly command, as follows:—

"A DISCHARGE by God and his Apostle, in reference to those of the Idolaters with whom ye have entered into treaty.

"Go to and fro in the earth securely four months. And know that ye cannot hinder God, and that verily God will bring disgrace upon the Unbelievers;—

"And an Announcement from God and his Apostle unto the People, on the day of the greater Pilgrimage, that God is discharged from (liability to) the Idolaters,—and his Prophet likewise. Now, if ye repent, that will be better for you; but if ye turn your backs, know that ye cannot hinder God; and acquaint those who disbelieve with the tidings of a grievous punishment;—

"Excepting those of the Idolaters with whom ye have entered into treaty, and who thereafter have not failed thee in any thing, and have not helped any one against you. Fulfil unto these their treaty, until the expiration of their term; for God loveth the pious.

"And when the forbidden months have elapsed, then fight against the Idolaters, wheresoever ye find them; take them captive, besiege them, and lay in wait for them in every ambush; but if they repent, and establish Prayer, and give the Tithes, leave them alone, for God is gracious and merciful.

"And if any of the Idolaters ask a guarantee of thee, give it unto him, until he shall have heard the Word of God; then convey him back unto his place of security. This because they are a people that do not understand. * * *

"O ye that believe! Verily the Unbelievers are unclean. Wherefore, let them not approach the holy Temple after this year. And if ye fear poverty, God will enrich you of his abundance, if he pleaseth, for God is knowing and wise."*

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* *Sura*, ix. 1–7, and 29. It is not mentioned how far on in the Ninth Sura, Ali was commissioned to read. I have added the last verse, as it contains one of the special orders which Ali was deputed to promulgate. The 18th and 19th verses are something to the same effect, but not so decisive. The verses intermediate

Ali reiterates the commands of the Prophet.

Having finished the recitation of this passage, Ali continued;—"I have been commanded to declare unto you that no unbeliever shall enter Paradise. No idolater shall after this year perform the pilgrimage; and no one shall make the circuit of the holy house naked. Whosoever hath a treaty with the Prophet, it shall be respected till its termination. Four months are permitted to every tribe to return to their territories in security. After that the obligation of the Prophet ceaseth."*

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between the 7th and the 29th refer to attacking the Idolaters and those who had broken their treaty, to the necessity of preferring "God and his Apostle" before any earthly relation, and to the victory at Honein. Some of these verses, as v. 14, which contains an exhortation to fight against those who expelled the Prophet from their city (*i. e.* the Meccans,) are certainly not applicable to the occasion of Ali's harangue.

The passage which follows the 28th verse relates to the Jews and Christians, and is strongly hostile to them. It can have no connection with the first section, or with Ali's mission, whatever.

It is a patently erroneous conceit of tradition, that this Sura was revealed in one piece, or even in uniform chronological order. The last portion, about Tabûk, appeared, by the testimony of tradition itself, before the first section just quoted.

* There seems a kind of contradiction between the 1st verse, in which all treaties are cast aside, and the subsequent verse and intimation by Ali that treaties would be respected. Perhaps it was meant that, notwithstanding any treaty, idolaters would be prevented from coming to the Pilgrimage, though the treaty would be in other respects observed. Or it may mean that, although Mahomet had permission given him in the first verse to cast aside treaties with idolaters, yet he nevertheless voluntarily engaged to respect those treaties which had been faithfully kept. The latter interpretation is not so suitable as the other to the style of the Coran.

The vast concourse of pilgrims listened peaceably till Ali ended. Then they broke up and departed every man to his home, publishing to all the tribes throughout the Peninsula, the inexorable ordinance which they had heard from the lips of Ali.

The concourse breaks up quietly.

The passage just quoted completed the system of Mahomet so far as its relations with idolatrous tribes and races were concerned. The few cases of truce excepted, uncompromising warfare was declared against them all. No trace of idolatry was to survive within the expanding circle of the influence of Islam. And as Islam was the universal faith intended for all mankind, so its mission was now plainly set forth to be the absolute annihilation of idolatry throughout the world.

The universal annihilation of idolatry, now the declared mission of Islam;—

In juxtaposition with this passage, though evidently revealed in an altogether different connection, we find the following verses declaratory of the final principles on which the professors of Judaism and Christianity were to be treated. After long neglect and silence, the Coran now notices the Jews and Christians, only to condemn them to a perpetual vassalage:—

and the reduction of Judaism and Christianity to a humiliating and dependent position.

"Fight against those who do not believe in God nor in the last day, and who forbid not that which God hath forbidden, and profess not the true religion,—those, namely, who have received the Scriptures,*— until they pay tribute with the hand, and are humbled."

* Meaning both Christians and Jews.

"The Jews say that Ezra* is the Son of God, and the Christians that the Messiah is the Son of God. This is their saying, with their mouths. They imitate the saying of the Unbelievers before them. God destroy them! How have they devised lying vanities?

"They have taken their priests and their monks as lords besides God,—and also the Messiah the son of Mary. Yet they were not bidden but to worship one God;—There is no God but he, far exalted above that with which they associate him!

"They seek to extinguish the light of God with their mouths. But God refuseth to do otherwise than make his light perfect, even though the Unbelievers be averse thereto.

"He it is that hath sent his Apostle with the true guidance, and the religion of truth, that he may make it superior to all other religions, even though the Idolaters be averse thereto.

"O ye that believe! Verily many of the Priests and Monks devour the wealth of the people in vanity, and obstruct the way of God. And those that treasure up gold and silver, and spend it not in the way of God, announce unto them a grievous punishment;—

"On the day on which it† shall be heated in the fire of Hell, and their foreheads and their sides and their backs shall be seared therewith,—This is that which ye have treasured up for yourselves, wherefore taste that which ye have treasured up."‡

Contempt with which Judaism and Christianity are cast aside.

Thus, with threats of abasement and with bitter curses, Mahomet parted finally from the Jews and Christians, whom he had so long deceived with vain professions of attachment to their Scriptures, and from whose teaching he had borrowed all that was most valuable in his own system. Having reached the pinnacle of prosperity and power, he cast contemptuously aside the supports to which in no small measure he owed his elevation.

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* *Odzeir*, by which name Mahomet meant Ezra.

† *i.e.* the gold and silver.

‡ *Sura*, ix. 30-36.

CHAPTER THIRTIETH.

Embassies of Submission received at Medîna. Ninth and Tenth Years of the Hegira. A.D. 630, 631.

Ætat. 62, 63.

THE life of Mahomet was now drawing to a close; but his work was nearly completed. The proof of this was amply shewn in the stream of submissive embassies which from all quarters of Arabia now flowed uninterruptedly towards Medîna. Numerous embassies during the Tenth year of the Hegira.

The adhesion of Tâyif and the destruction of its famous idol produced a wide and powerful effect in the south and east of the Peninsula. Within a few months after those events, and before the close of the ninth year of the Hegira, many of the chiefs and princes of Yemen and Mahra, of Omân, Bahrein, and Yemâma, had signified by letter or by embassy their conversion to Islam and submission to the Prophet. Embassies from the south and east follow the submission of Tâyif. Decr. 630 to March 631, A.D.

Some of them had been converted even earlier. On his return from the siege of Tâyif, towards the close of the eighth year of the Hegira,* Mahomet sent Amru with a despatch to Jeyfar, king of Omân, Conversion of the province of Omân; Dzul Cada, VIII. February, 631:

* See above, p. 156.

summoning him and his brother to make profession of the true faith. At first they gave answer "that they would be the weakest among the Arabs, if they made another man possessor of their property." But as Amru was about to depart, they repented, and calling him back, embraced Islam. The people followed their example, and without demur paid their tithes to Amru, who continued till the Prophet's death to be his representative in Omân.*

and of the Himyarite princes of Mahra and Yemen;

At the same time, Ayâsh ibn Hârith was deputed to Abd Kelâl and other Himyarite princes of the Christian faith in Yemen.† He carried with him a letter in which Mahomet expressed his belief in Moses and Jesus, but denied the Trinity and the divinity of Christ.‡ Their reply, accepting the new faith

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 50½. I conclude that Amru remained in the capacity of representative or governor on Mahomet's part. It is said that he distributed the tithes among the poor of the country, which probably made the people less unwilling to pay them. The king's brother's name was Abd: called also by Hishâmi, Ayadh.

† Their title is given as "*Cayl* of Dzu Röein, Muäfir and Hamdân." *K. Wâckidi*, 69; *Hishâmi*, 428. The Secretary does not specify the date; and Hishâmi places the embassy at the close of the *ninth* year. M. C. de Perceval, on the authority of the Khamîs and Sîrat al Rasûl, says the embassy was despatched simultaneously with that of Amru; another name is also given by him to the ambassador.

‡ The instructions which Mahomet gave to Ayâsh are curious. He was to be very particular in his purification and prayers on reaching the country. He was to take the Prophet's despatch in his right hand and place it in the right hand of the Princes. He was to recite the xcviiith Sura, and then call upon them to submit, saying that he was able to refute every argument and

with all its conditions, reached the Prophet after his return from Tabûk; and he acknowledged it in a despatch, praising the alacrity of their faith, setting forth the legal demands of Islam, and commending his tithe collectors to their favour.*

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book they could adduce against Islam. When they spoke (or perhaps recited their belief in Islam) in the Himyar tongue (رطنوا), he was to desire them to translate what they said into Arabic. (See Vol i. *Introduction*, p. x.) Then he was to repeat Sura xlii. 14th and 15th verses, in which it is asserted that there is no real controversy between Mahomet and Christians. A strange part of the instructions was, to call upon the people, after they believed, to produce three sticks,—two of which were gilded white and yellow, and one a black knotted cane,—which they used to worship. These he was to burn publicly in the market-place. *K. Wâckidi*, 55.

* "*From Mahomet, the Apostle of God, to Hârith, &c.* I praise God on your behalf,—that God beside whom there is no other. Now, your messenger hath reached me at Medîna, on my return from the land of Greece; and he hath conveyed to me your despatch, and given me intelligence regarding your conversion and your fighting against the idolaters. Now, verily hath the Lord guided you with the right direction, that ye should amend your lives, obey God and his Apostle, set up prayer, pay the tithes, and from your booty set aside a fifth as the share of God and his Apostle." So far the Secretary (p. 69) and Hishâmi (428) agree. The latter adds a long detail of what the tithes should be:—namely, of the produce of land, if watered naturally by streams or rain, a tenth; if by buckets, a twentieth. Of camels, they must give for every forty, a two year-old she camel; for thirty, a he camel; for five, a goat. Of cows, one for every forty, or a calf for every thirty. For every forty sheep or goats, one kid. "This is what is obligatory, and whoever exceedeth, it will be for his own benefit. Every one that shall fulfil this, and believe in Islam, and assist the Believers against the Idolaters, he verily is one of the faithful: he shareth in what they share, and is responsible for that for

and of Bahrein and Hejer.

Simultaneously with the mission of Amrú, or a little later,* Mahomet sent Ala "the Hadhramite" towards the Persian Gulph with a letter to Mundzir ibn Sawâ, the chief of Bahrein. Mundzir at once embraced Islam, and forwarded a reply to Mahomet saying, "that of the people of Hejer to whom he had read the Prophet's letter, some were delighted with the new religion, but others displeased with it; and that among his subjects there were Jews and Magians, regarding whom he solicited instructions." A rescript was granted by Mahomet securing Mund-

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which they are responsible. Thus it shall be with all Jews and Christians who embrace Islam. But they that will not abandon Judaism and Christianity, shall pay tribute, every adult male and female, whether bond or free, a full dinar of the Müafar standard, or its equivalent in cloth. Whosoever shall pay this, is embraced in the guarantee of God and his Apostle: whoever refuseth is their enemy."

Then he commends his messengers, teachers, and tithe collectors, to the Princes' good offices,—specifying Muâdz as their chief, and desiring that the tithe and tribute should be made over to him. He forbids oppression, "for Mahomet is the protector of the poor as well as of the rich amongst you." The tithe is not for Mahomet or his family: it is a means of purifying the rest of the giver's property, and is to be devoted to the poor and the wayfarer.

See also the account of the deputation from Hamadân, who sang as they approached Mahomet,—"We have come to thee from the plains of Al Rif; in the hot whirlwinds of summer and khanif." (*Kharîf*, "autumnal harvest," a word familiar to the Indian administrator.) Mahomet's reply secured to them their hills and dales, &c. *Hishâmi*, 433.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 50. The Secretary says, on Mahomet's way home from Jierrâna. Hishâmi, however, makes it occur before the taking of Mecca, p. 422.

zir in the government of his province so long as he administered it well, and directing that tribute should be levied from the Jews and Magians. To the Magians he dictated a separate despatch, inviting them to believe in the Coran:—"If they declined, toleration would be extended to them on the payment of tribute; but in such case, their women would not be taken in marriage by true believers, nor would that which they killed be lawful as food to any Moslem."* Ala remained at the court of Mundzir as the representative of Mahomet.

Embassies from the Bani Hanîfa and other Christian tribes. End of A.H. IX: beginning of 631, A.D.

Among the tribes of Bahrein which sent embassies to Medîna before the close of the ninth year of the Hegira, were the Bani Bakr, who had so gloriously overthrown the forces of Persia twenty years before;† the Abd al Cays; and the Bani Hanîfa, a Christian branch of the Bani Bakr, who inhabited Yemâma. One of the deputation from the Bani Hanîfa was Muscilama, who, from what he then saw, conceived the idea that he too might successfully set up pretensions to be a Prophet. When the customary presents were distributed amongst them, the deputies solicited a share for him, saying that he had been left behind to guard the baggage.

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 51. This passage refers to the distinction made by Mahomet in favour of the Jews and Christians, whose women might be taken in marriage, and what was killed and cooked by them might be eaten by the Moslems. See also two despatches to the people of Hejer, pp. 53 and 53½.

† See vol. i. *Introduction*, pp. 182, 233.

Mahomet commanded that he should have the same as the rest,—"for his position," he said, "is none the worse among you because of his present duty." These words were afterwards converted by Museilama to his own ends.*

A Christian tribe desired to demolish its church.

On the departure of the embassy, the Prophet gave them a vessel with some water in it remaining over from his own ablutions, and said to them: "When ye reach your country, break down your church, sprinkle its site with this water, and in place of it build up a Mosque." These commands they carried into effect, and abandoned Christianity without compunction.† To another Christian tribe, as I have shewn before, he prohibited the practice of baptism, so that, although the adults continued to be nominally Christian, their children grew up with no profession but that of the Coran.‡ It is no wonder

* *K. Wâckidi*, 61. The words of Mahomet were:— ليس بشركم مكانا لحفظه ركابكم ورحالكم

† See the tradition, given in full, in vol. ii. p. 304. I have there stated the story to be improbable. But I am now inclined to think that during the last year or two of Mahomet's life, there was quite enough of antagonistic feeling against Christianity, as it presented itself in the profession of the Arab and Syrian tribes, to support the narrative. The following tradition is illustrative of Mahomet's relations to our faith at this period. Among the Bani Abd al Cays was a Christian named Jarûd. He said, "O Prophet, I have hitherto followed the Christian faith, and I am now called on to change it. Wilt thou be *surety* for me in the matter of my religion!" "Yea," replied Mahomet, "I am thy surety that God hath guided thee to a better faith than it." On this Jarûd and his comrades embraced Islam. *Hishâmi*, 422; *K. Wâckidi*, 61½.

‡ See vol. ii. p. 303; *K. Wâckidi*, 64; *Hishâmi*, 426.

that Christianity (which, as I have shewn before, never had obtained in Arabia a firm and satisfactory footing,) now warred against, and, where her adherents remained faithful, reduced to tribute,—her distinctive right prohibited wherever the professors were passive and careless,—her churches demolished and their sites purified before they could be used again for worship by the Christian converts,—it is no wonder that Christianity, thus insulted and trampled under foot, languished, and soon disappeared from the Peninsula.

Deputations from the South. Beginning of A.H. X. April and May, 632.

The tenth year of the Hegira opened with fresh deputations from the south. The Bani Morâd and Zobeid, inhabiting the sea coast of Yemen, the Bani Khaulân, who lived in the hilly country of that name, and the Bani Bajîla, were among the first whose embassies appeared at Medîna. The latter tribe at Mahomet's command destroyed the famous image of Dzul Kholasa, of which the Temple, from the popularity of its worship, was called the "Kaaba of Yemen."*

Submission of the Bani Azd and people of Jorsh.

About this time, a party of fifteen or twenty men of the Bani Azd from Yemen† presented themselves, with Surad, one of their chiefs. This person was recognized by Mahomet as the ruler of his clan, and a commission was given to him to war against the heathen tribes in his neighbourhood. The in-

* *Vide C. de Perceval*, v. iii. p. 292.

† That portion of the tribe which was left behind after the northern migration. See vol. i. p. clvi.

junction was promptly fulfilled. After besieging Jorsh, the chief city of the idolaters, for more than a month without success, Surad made the feint of retiring to a hill. The enemy falling into the snare pursued him, and in a pitched battle sustained a signal defeat. The people of Jorsh immediately sent an embassy of submission to Medîna.*

Chiefs of the Bani Kinda from Hadhramaut visit Medina.

From Hadhramaut, two princes of the Bani Kinda, Wâil and Al Ashâth, the former chief of the coast, the latter of the interior, visited the Prophet at the head of a brilliant cavalcade, arrayed in garments of Yemen stuff lined with silk. "Will ye embrace Islam?" said Mahomet to them, after he had received their salutations in the Mosque.—"Yea; it is for that end we have come." "Then why all this silk about your necks?" The silken lining was forthwith torn out and cast aside.† To mark his delight at the arrival of the embassy, Mahomet desired Bilâl to call aloud the summons to general prayer.‡ When the citizens were as-

* It is pretended that Mahomet had immediate intimation of the victory, and communicated the intelligence at the moment to two men of that country, who going home found it to be as he had said; and that the thing becoming known, was the occasion of the conversion of the whole tribe. The same remark will occur to the reader here as in the intimation regarding the battle of Mûta. See above, p. 102. *K. Wâckidi*, 65½; *Hishâmi*, 426.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 64; *Hishâmi*, 426. Mahomet disapproved of silk and velvet for men's attire.

‡ الصلوٰة جامعة *i.e.* the same as the Friday service, at which all attended, joined in the "common" prayer, and heard the sermon. *K. Wâckidi*, 67½.

sembled, the Prophet introduced the strangers to the congregation. "O People!" he said; "this is Wâil ibn Hejr, who hath come unto you from the region of Hadhramaut, out of desire to embrace Islam." He then presented Wâil with a patent securing him in his rights: "Since thou hast believed, I confirm thee in possession of all thy lands and fortresses. One part in every ten shall be taken from thee: a just collector shall see to it. I guarantee that thou shalt not be injured in this respect so long as the faith endureth. The Prophet, and all believers, shall be thine allies."* Muâvia, son of Abu Sofiân, was desired to carry Wâil to his house and entertain him there. On his way, the haughty prince displayed what Mahomet styled "a remnant of heathenism." He would not allow Muâvia to mount behind him: the ground was scorching from the mid-day sun, yet he refused the use even of his sandals to his host, who was obliged to walk barefooted by the camel:—"What would my subjects in Yemen say," he exclaimed in disdain, "if they heard that a common man had worn the sandals of the king! Nay, but I will drive the camel gently, and do thou walk in my shade." Such insolent demeanour was altogether foreign to the *brotherhood* of Islam: but it was tolerated by Mahomet, for the accession was too valuable to be imperilled.

Al Asháth marries Abu Bakr's daughter.

The other chief, Al Asháth, sealed his adhesion to the cause of Mahomet by marrying Omm Farwa,

* *K. Wâckidi*, 56½, 67½.

Abu Bakr's daughter. The marriage was not then consummated, her parents declining that the bride should leave them for so distant a home as Hadhramaut.*

Muâdz sent forth at the head of a band of collectors or envoys to the south of Arabia.

The supremacy of Islam being thus widely recognized in the south of Arabia, Mahomet sent forth a band of officers charged with the instruction of the people, and the collection of the public dues. Over them he placed Muâdz ibn Jabal, who had by this time fulfilled his mission at Mecca.† "Deal gently with the people," said the Prophet to Muâdz, as he dismissed him to his new scene of labour, "and be not harsh. Scare them not, but rather cheer. Thou

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* *C. de Perceval*, vol. iii. 293. Al Asháth joined the rebellion which broke out upon the death of Mahomet, but subsequently returned to his allegiance, was pardoned, and then received Omm Farwa his wife.

A member of the royal family in the deputation besought Mahomet to pray that his stammer might be removed. This the Prophet did, and appointed him a portion from the tithes of Hadhramaut. Another tradition relates that this man was seized with a paralytic affection on his way home. His followers came and told Mahomet, who desired them to heat a needle and pierce his eyelid with it; and this remedy healed him. Mahomet attributed the illness to something which the chief must have said after leaving Medîna. *K. Wâckidi*, 68.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 292½. The Secretary places the deputation of Muâdz in Rabî second, or July A.H. IX. or 631. I conceive that this may be a mistake for A.H. X. On the other hand, Muâdz is mentioned in the letters sent to the Himyarite Princes (see above, p. 216), written at the close of A.H. IX. The discrepancy may be reconciled by supposing that this was the second deputation of Muâdz. *Hishâmi*, 428.

wilt meet with Jews and Christians who will ask thee, What is the key of Paradise? Reply, *Verily the key of Paradise is to testify that there is no God but the Lord alone. With him there is no partner.*"* These envoys of Mahomet were invested to some extent with a judicial authority. Acceptance of the new faith implied of necessity the simultaneous recognition of its social and juridical institutions. Every dispute must be brought to the test of the Coran, or of the instructions of Mahomet, and the exponents of these became, therefore, the virtual judges of the land.†

* I do not find in my authorities the honorific address given by Mahomet to Muâdz, according to C. de Perceval, vol. iii. p. 294. Muâdz was inextricably involved in debt, and his creditors had been clamorous before Mahomet for payment. Muâdz surrendered all his property, but it fell far short of the claims. When Mahomet therefore sent him away, he said, "Go, and perchance the Lord will relieve thy wants." Muâdz would appear to have made good use of his position, for Omar, when he subsequently met him at Mecca performing the Pilgrimage, reprimanded him for the state in which he appeared, followed by slaves, &c. He is said to have been very particular in following the practice of Mahomet, and never spat on his right side. He was lame, and was obliged to stretch out his legs at prayer. The people (as they always imitated the Imam in all his postures) did the same, till he forbade them.

† Mahomet asked Muâdz before he left, how he would adjudicate causes: "By the Book," he replied. *But if not in the Book?* "Then by thy precedent." *But if there be no precedent?* "Then I will diligently frame my own judgment; and I shall not fail therein." Thereupon Mahomet clapped him on the breast and said: "Praise be to God, who hath fulfilled, in the messenger sent forth by his Apostle, that which is well pleasing to the Apostle of the Lord!" *K. Wâckidi*, 292¼.

Najrân submits to Khâlid. Rabi 1st. A.H. X. June, A.D. 631.*

Towards the close of the Prophet's life, the sound of war had almost died away at Medîna. Only two expeditions of a hostile character were undertaken during the tenth year of the Hegira. The first, under command of Khâlid, set out against the Bani Hârith, of Najrân, during summer. About a year before, a deputation consisting of the bishop and clergy of Najrân had visited Mahomet, and (as I have before recounted) had obtained terms of security on the payment of tribute.† Khâlid was now instructed to call on the rest of the people to embrace Islam; if they declined he was, after three days, to attack and force them to submit. Having reached his destination, he sent mounted parties in all directions, with this proclamation, "Ye people! Embrace Islam, and ye shall be safe." They all submitted, and professed their belief in the new faith.‡ Mahomet in a despatch to Khâlid acknowledged with delight his report of these proceedings, and sum-

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* So the Secretary, p. 134. Hishâmi makes it a month or two later, in Rabî 2nd, or Jumâd 1st.

† See vol. ii. p. 299, *et seq.* I conclude that the operations of Khâlid were directed against the portion of the Bani Hârith still idolaters;—at all events not against the Christian portion already under treaty.

‡ Hishâmi tells this naïvely:—"So they, being worsted, *believed*, and embraced the invitation to profess their adhesion to the new faith. Thereupon Khâlid began to teach them the nature of Islam, and the word of God, and the regulations of the Prophet." p. 430. Surrendering at discretion before an armed force is *belief* according to the language of tradition, and it preceded the teaching of what Islam itself was.

moned him to return and bring with him a deputation from the Bani Hârith. An embassy from the tribe accordingly visited Medîna, and were treated with courtesy.*

Campaign of Ali to Yemen against the Bani Nakhâ, &c. Ramadhân, A.H. X. Dec. A.D. 631.

As the Bani Nakhâ and some other tribes of the Madhij† stock in Yemen still held out, Ali was sent in the winter at the head of three hundred well equipped horse, to reduce them to submission. Yemen had repeatedly sent forth armies to subdue the Hejâz; this was the first army the Hejâz had ever sent forth to conquer Yemen. Ali met with but feeble opposition. His detachments ravaged the country all around, and returned with spoil of every kind,—women, children, camels, and flocks. Driven to despair, the people drew together, and attacked Ali with a general discharge of stones and arrows. The Moslem line charged and put them to flight, with the slaughter of twenty men. Ali held back his troops from pursuit, and again summoned the fugitives to accept his terms. This they now hastened to do. The chiefs did homage, and pledged that the people would follow their example. Ali accepted their promise; he then retraced his steps with the booty, and reaching Mecca in the spring, joined Mahomet in his last pilgrimage. The Bani Nakhâ fulfilled their pledge, and submitted them-

* This must have happened in the winter, as the deputation did not return again to Najrân till Dzul Cáda, or February, 632. *Hishâmi*, 431.

† Descendants of Cahlân: see vol. i. p. cxlix.

selves to Muâdz, the Prophet's envoy in Yemen. Two hundred of them set out to tender a personal allegiance to Mahomet. It was the last deputation received by him. They reached Medîna at the beginning of the eleventh year of the Hegira.*

Numerous embassies and despatches.

Numerous other embassies are described by the Secretary of Wâckidi, who has devoted a long chapter to the subject, and a chapter also to the despatches and rescripts of the Prophet. Those which I have already described will afford a sufficient conception of the whole; further detail would be tedious and unprofitable. But one or two incidents of interest connected with them may be subjoined.

The Bani Aamir ibn Sassâa. Abu Berâ applies to Mahomet for a cure.

The part played by the Bani Aamir ibn Sassâa at the massacre of Bîr Maûna, will be in the memory of the reader.† This tribe had taken little share with the rest of the Bani Hawâzin (of which they formed a branch) in the battle of Honein. It maintained, under its haughty chieftain Aamir ibn Tofail, an independent neutrality. The aged chief of the tribe, Abu Berâ, still exhibited friendly feelings towards Mahomet, but with advancing years his influence had passed away. Labouring under an internal ailment, he sent his nephew Labîd, the poet of the tribe, to the Prophet, with the present of a beautiful horse, and an urgent request that he would point out a cure for his disease. Mahomet declined the gift, saying courteously, "If I could ever

* *K. Wâckidi*, 67 and 124. † Vol. iii. p. 204.

accept the offering of an idolater it would be that of Abu Berâ." Then taking up a clod of earth, he spat upon it, and directed that Abu Berâ should dissolve it in water, and drink the mixture. Tradition tells us that when he had done this, he recovered from his sickness.*

Interview of Aamir ibn Tofail with Mahomet. Conversion of the Bani Aamir. A.H. X. A.D. 631, 632.

The following year Aamir ibn Tofail, at the solicitation of his tribe, presented himself before Mahomet, and sought to obtain advantageous terms. "What shall I have," he asked, "if I believe?" "That which other believers have," replied Mahomet, "with the same responsibilities." "Wilt thou not give me the rule after thee?" "Nay, that is not for thee, nor for thy tribe." "Then assign unto me the Nomad tribes; and do thou retain the rest." "This," said Mahomet, "I cannot do; but I will give thee the command over the cavalry, for thou excellest as a horseman." Aamir turned away in disdain: "Doth this man not know," he cried, "that I can fill his land from one end to the other with troops, both footmen and horse?" Mahomet was alarmed at the threat, for the Bani Aamir were a formidable tribe; he prayed accordingly for deliverance from this foe: "O Lord! defend me against Aamir ibn Tofail. O Lord! guide his tribe unto the truth; and save Islam from his stratagems!"

* Labîd is famous for his Möallaca, or "suspended" poem. See vol. i. p. ccxxvi. According to another tradition, Mahomet gave Labîd a leather bottle of honey, of which Abu Berâ ate, and so he recovered. *Wâckidi's Campaigns*, p. 341.

The haughty chieftain never reached his home; he sickened by the way, and died miserably in a deserted hut.* The Bani Aamir shortly after gave in their adhesion to the Prophet.

Prejudices of the Bani Júfi.

The Bani Júfi, a tribe inhabiting Yemen, had a deeply-rooted prejudice against eating the heart of any animal. Cays, one of their chief men, came to Mahomet with his brother, and professed belief in the Coran. They were told that their faith was imperfect until they broke through their heathenish scruples, and a roasted heart was placed before them. Cays took it up and ate it, trembling violently. Mahomet, satisfied with the test of his sincerity, presented him with a patent, which secured him in the rule over his people.† But before Cays and his brother left the presence of Mahomet, the conversation turned upon the guilt of infanticide: "Our mother Muleika," said they, "was full of good deeds and charity; but she buried a little daughter alive. What is her condition now?" "The burier and

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* He died of a virulent boil or blain. Tradition delights to dwell on the miseries of Aamir's end. Arbad, a chief who accompanied him, was about the same time struck by lightning.

The text chiefly follows the Secretary, p 60½. Hishâmi adds the popular story, that Aamir visited Mahomet with the design of assassinating him; but that Arbad, who was to deliver the stroke while Aamir engaged the Prophet in conversation, was restrained by a supernatural power: p. 419. The tale is apocryphal. It is of the same class as that described in vol. i. p. lxxx.

† This document seems to have been preserved, for the Secretary speaks of a "copy" of it.

the buried are both in hell," replied the Prophet. The brothers turned away in wrath. "Come back;" Mahomet cried; "my own mother, too, is there with yours." They would not listen. "This man," they said, as they departed, "hath not only made us eat the heart of animals, but saith that our mother is in hell: who would follow him?"

Two of their chiefs cursed by Mahomet for robbing his tithe camels.

On their way home, they met one of Mahomet's followers returning to Medîna with a herd of camels which had been collected as tithe. They seized the man, left him bound, and carried off the camels. Mahomet was greatly offended; and he entered the names of the robbers in the curse (the repetition of which seems still to have been kept up) against the perpetrators of the massacre at Bîr Maûna.*

* *K. Wâckidi*, 63½. A second deputation from the same tribe visited Mahomet, and was well receive. We do not hear anything more of Cays. Mahomet healed the hand of the leader of the second deputation from a protuberance which had prevented him holding his camel's rein, by striking an arrow on it and then stroking it, when it disappeared. He changed the name of this chief's son from *Azîz* (glorious) to Abd al Rahmân;—saying, "There is none *glorious* but the Lord." *Ibid.*

CHAPTER THIRTY-FIRST.

The Farewell Pilgrimage. Dzul Hijj. A.H. X.
March. A.D. 630.

Ætat. 63.

Mahomet resolves to go up to the greater Pilgrimage in the tenth year of the Hegira.

THE period for the annual Pilgrimage again approached. Nothing now appeared to hinder Mahomet from the fulfilment of its ceremonies. There was no longer the possibility of offence from idolatrous objects or the rites of heathenism. Every vestige of an image in Mecca and its outskirts had been cleared away. And after the threatening announcement of the previous year, none but professed believers might venture near. Mahomet had not performed the greater Pilgrimage since his flight from Mecca. He now announced his intention of going up to the coming festival.*

Journey from Medina to Mecca.

Five days before the opening of Dzul Hijj, the month of Pilgrimage, the Prophet assumed the

* The Secretary says that Mahomet had not performed the greater Pilgrimage "since he became a Prophet," p. 135. After his assumption of the prophetical office, and before his flight, he certainly attended the processions to Arafât, Mina, &c., though he may not as a worshipper have taken part in them. The tradition probably originated in the axiom that after the assumption of his holy office, Mahomet could not possibly have participated in anything idolatrous. Another tradition makes him to have per-

pilgrim's garb in the manner already described; and, followed by vast multitudes, set out on the journey to Mecca. All his wives accompanied him. One hundred camels, marked by his own hand as victims, were led in solemn procession. Along the road, mosques had already sprung up at the various halting places; at each, the people prayed, Mahomet leading the devotions. On the evening of the tenth day, he reached Sarif, an easy stage from Mecca; there he rested for the night,* and on the following morning, having bathed, and mounted Al Caswa, he proceeded towards Mecca. He entered the upper suburbs by the same route which he had taken two years before; and, passing down the main street of the city, approached the Kâaba. As he passed through the Bani Sheyba gate,† with the holy temple full in view, he raised his hands to heaven, and said:—"*O Lord! Add unto this House in the dignity and glory, the honour and the reverence, which already*

formed the greater pilgrimage twice *before* he became a Prophet; *K. Wâckidi*, 138. The *lesser* Pilgrimage was celebrated three times by Mahomet after the flight; viz. 1st, at Hodeibia; 2nd, the year following; and 3rd, when he was at Jierrâna. *Ibid.* 134.

* This calculation makes Mahomet reach Mecca on the 11th day from his leaving Medîna. Other statements give the date of his arrival at Mecca as the 4th Dzul Hijj. *Ibid.* 135½. But it seems certain that he started on Saturday, 25 Dzul Cada (23rd February, 632), reached Sarif on Monday evening, the 10th day, and entered Mecca on Tuesday.

† See the Plan, vol. ii. This was the ancient gate leading into the court-yard of the Kâaba. It was situated N.E. by E. of the Kâaba, and beyond the *Macâm Ibrahim*.

thou hast bestowed on it. And they that for the greater Pilgrimage and the lesser frequent the same, increase them much in honour and dignity, in piety, goodness, and glory!" Then, mounted as he was on his camel, he performed the prescribed circuits, and other rites, and afterwards retired to a tent pitched for him in the valley.

The most of his followers perform the lesser Pilgrimage only.

The greater part of the pilgrims had brought no victims with them. These were directed by Mahomet, after completing the customary forms of the Omra, or lesser Pilgrimage, to divest themselves of the pilgrim garb. They accompanied the Prophet and the others who had brought victims, in their farther procession to Mina and Arafât, but only as spectators. Ali, who in the meantime had returned from Yemen, received the same directions as the rest of those who had no victims: "Go," said Mahomet, "and encircle the holy house; then divest thyself of the pilgrim's garb as thy fellows have done." But Ali was anxious to fulfil the full rites of the yearly festival;—"for," said he, "I have taken upon me vows to perform the same pilgrimage as the Prophet, whatever that might be." Mahomet yielded, and allowed him to fulfil the greater Pilgrimage, and to be a sharer in the victims he had brought for himself.*

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* The sacrifice of victims is an essential part of the greater pilgrimage, but not of the lesser.

According to the rules of Islam, the pilgrim must resolve, before he assumes the pilgrim's garb, which pilgrimage he will perform. In connection with this custom, there is a great mass

Mahomet performs the Pilgrimage to Arafât. 8th Dzul Hijj.

On the 7th of Dzul Hijj, the day preceding the opening rites of the greater Pilgrimage, Mahomet, after the mid-day prayer, preached to the concourse assembled at the Kâaba. Next day,* followed by the whole multitude of pilgrims, and shaded from the sun's glare by Bilâl, who walked at his side with a screen,† he proceeded to Mina, where he performed the ordinary prayers, and passed the night in a tent. The following morning at sunrise, he moved onwards, and passing Mozdalifa, reached Arafât, an abrupt eminence, about two hundred feet high, in the middle of the valley, which, though elsewhere

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of contradictory tradition as to whether Mahomet set out from Medîna with the vows upon him of the lesser Pilgrimage, or the greater, or of both together; and the question is very warmly discussed.

When Mahomet desired those who had no victims to conclude their Pilgrimage with the Omra, or lesser festival, they objected, saying, "How then can we go on with thee to Mina, after quitting the holy state of a pilgrim, and returning to the impurities of the world?" Mahomet told them that there was no harm in doing so, for that, if similarly circumstanced, he would have done it himself; and that if he had foreseen these objections, he would not have brought any victims. *K. Wâckidi*, p. 138. Perhaps it was Mahomet's wish to show that visiting Mecca at the time of the greater Pilgrimage did not necessarily involve the performance of that pilgrimage, which was reserved for special occasions.

* The *eighth*, termed *tarwiyah*, يوم التروية, because on that day the Pilgrims drank of the water made ready for them. *Vide Introduction*, vol. i. p. ccxlviii. Other derivations are given,—*Burton*, iii. 238; *Weil*, 293. For the direction and distances of Mina, Mozdalifa, and Arafât, from Mecca, see *Introduction*, vol. i. p. ccv.

† It is described as a staff, with a cloth attached to it. *K. Wâckidi*, 136.

narrow, and on the farther side pent in by lofty granite peaks, here spreads out bare and stony to the breadth of nearly a mile.* On the summit of the sacred mount, the Prophet, standing erect upon his camel, said:—"The entire valley of Arafât is the holy station for Pilgrimage, excepting only the vale of Urana."† After he had bowed himself in prayer, he recited certain passages of the Coran,

* See the pictures of this hill in Ali Bey (vol. ii. p. 67) and Burton (vol. iii. p. 257). The following is the description of it by the latter:—"A mass of coarse granite split into large blocks, with a thin coat of withered thorns, about one mile in circumference, and rising abruptly from the low gravelly plain,—a dwarf wall at the southern base forming the line of demarcation,—to the height of one hundred and eighty or two hundred feet. It is separated by Batn Arna (عرنة), a sandy vale, from the spurs of the Taif hills. Nothing can be more picturesque than the view it affords of the blue peaks behind, and the vast encampment scattered over the barren yellow plain below." So also Ali Bey:—"Arafat is a small mountain of granite rock, the same as those that surround it; it is about one hundred and fifty feet high, and is situated at the foot of a higher mountain to the E.S.E., in a plain about three quarters of a mile in diameter, surrounded by barren mountains." Vol. ii. p. 67.

† For the valley of Urana (or Arna) see preceding note. The popular tradition regarding the reason for its exclusion is given thus by Burton:—"This vale is not considered 'standing ground,' because Satan once appeared to the Prophet as he was traversing it:" p. 258. The last pilgrimage is regarded as the type of all succeeding ones: there is accordingly a tendency to make Mahomet foresee this, and provide anticipatory instructions on all possible points. These must be received with caution: take, *e.g.* the following tradition: Mahomet, as he went through the various rites, said: "Observe, and learn of me the ceremonies which ye should practise, for I know not whether after this I shall ever perform another pilgrimage." *K. Wâckidi*, 136¼.

regarding the ceremonies of Pilgrimage, and concluded with the verse, "*This day have I perfected your Religion unto you, and fulfilled my mercy upon you, and appointed Islam for you to be your Religion.*" *

As the sun was going down, Mahomet quitted Arafât. Retracing his steps with Osâma, son of Zeid, seated behind him on the camel, he travelled hastily back by the bright moonlight along the narrow valley to Mozdalifa, where he said the sunset and evening prayers both together: in this, and every other point, his example has been closely imitated by the pilgrims yearly, to the present day. He passed the night at Mozdalifa, and very early in the morning sent forward the women and the children, lest the crowds of pilgrims that followed should impede their journey: but, touching them on the shoulder as they went, he said: "My children, have a care that ye throw not the stones at Acaba, until the sun arise." Returns to Mozdalifa. 9th Dzul Hijj.

When the morning of the tenth day of the month broke, Mahomet arose to perform the early prayer; after which, he mounted his camel, and took his stand on a certain spot, saying,—"This place, and the whole of Mozdalifa, is the station of pilgrimage, excepting only the vale of Muhassir."† Completes the Pilgrimage at Mina. 10th Dzul Hijj.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 138. This is the only passage of the Coran which, according to the Secretary, Mahomet repeated at Arafât. The traditions which bring together many other verses deemed appropriate to the occasion, and represent them as repeated at this and the other stages of the Pilgrimage, appear to me very doubtful.

† I do not know the origin of the allusion here to the valley of

Then, with Fadhl, son of Abbâs, seated behind him, he proceeded onwards amid a heavy fall of rain to Mina, shouting as he went the pilgrim's cry:—

"Labbeik! O Lord! Labbeik! Labbeik!
There is no other God but thee. Labbeik!
Praise, blessing, and dominion be to thee. Labbeik!
No one may share with thee therein. Labbeik, Labbeik!*

He ceased not to utter these ejaculations till he had reached Mina, and cast stones (an ancient rite before described) at the Acaba, a projecting corner of the valley.† Afterwards, he slew the victims brought for sacrifice, and then ended the pilgrimage by shaving the hair of his head and partly also of his face,‡ and paring his nails; the hair and parings he ordered to be burned.§ The scanty dress of pilgrimage was now put away, perfumes were

Muhassir; it is a part of the road to Mina. *Burton*, iii. 280. A picture of Mozdalifa will be found in *Ali Bey*, ii. 66.

* *Labbeik* signifies, "Here am I, O Lord!" See above, page 25.

† See above, vol. i. p. ccvi. There are minute traditions as to the kind of stone to be used on this occasion. Abdallah, son of Abbâs, picked up some gravel for Mahomet to throw, and the Prophet said,—"Yes: just such as this is the kind to throw. Take care that ye increase not the size. Verily they that have gone before you have come to nought, because of thus adding to the rites of their religion." *K. Wâckidi*, 136½. But see above, on the tendency to put into Mahomet's mouth rules framed for the guidance of pilgrims in time coming.

‡ So the *Secretary*, p. 135; واخذ من شاربه و عارضيه.

§ *Ibid.* Another tradition says that the hair was all caught up by his followers: p. 136½. In after days, when a single hair of the Prophet was treasured up as a relic and talisman, this tradition may have grown up.

burned, the flesh of the victims and other cattle * was distributed for food, and proclamation made that the restrictions of the pilgrim state being ended, it was now a day for eating and enjoyment, and for the remembrance of God. † Mahomet remained at Mina from the 10th to the 12th of Dzul Hijj. Every evening as the sun declined he repaired to Al Acaba and repeated the rite of casting stones.

Parting exhortation at Mina, 11th Dzul Hijj.

On the second of these three days, the Prophet mounted his camel, and taking up a central and prominent position in the Mina valley,‡ addressed the vast crowd of pilgrims in a memorable speech, which was looked upon by the people, and probably was felt by Mahomet himself, as his parting exhortation. Fragments of the discourse have been preserved; of these the following passages are the most important.§

* *K. Wâckidi*, 135½.

† It is said that Ali, mounted on the Prophet's white mule, made this proclamation amongst the pilgrims. *Ibid.* p. 138.

‡ The Secretary says that "he stood between the two places for casting stones." Burton mentions two such places, iii. 282. Ali Bey's plan gives the chief one, or "the Devil's house," on the Meccan side of Mina, and "two small columns raised by the Devil," in the middle of the narrow street of the village of Mina: vol. ii. p. 64. The position of Mahomet while delivering this famous discourse was thus within Mina itself, but somewhat on the side of Mecca. Hishâmi and others represent the discourse as delivered at Arafât, but the Secretary is very distinct in the statement which I have followed: pp. 135, 137.

§ Hishâmi professes to transcribe the actual discourse in regular order as it was delivered: p. 436. But had any such document been preserved in a genuine form, the Secretary would

"YE PEOPLE! Hearken to my words; for I know not whether, after this year, I shall ever be amongst you here again.*

"Your Lives and Property are sacred and inviolable amongst one another until the end of time.

"The Lord hath ordained to every man the share of his inheritance: a Testament is not lawful to the prejudice of heirs.

"The child belongeth to the Parent: and the violator of Wedlock shall be stoned.†

"Whoever claimeth falsely another for his father, or another for his master, the curse of God and the Angels, and of all Mankind, shall rest upon him.‡

"Ye People! Ye have rights demandable of your Wives, and they have rights demandable of you. Upon them it is incumbent not to violate their conjugal faith nor commit any act of open impropriety;—which things if they do, ye have authority to shut them up in separate apartments and to beat them with stripes, yet not severely.§ But if they refrain therefrom, clothe them and feed

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certainly have presented us with it; yet he gives only detached fragments.

* So Hishâmi. The words, however, may be an afterthought of tradition. There is no other intimation that Mahomet felt his strength to be decaying at this time, or that either he or his followers anticipated his end to be near.

† So I read, و ان الولد للفراش و للعاهر الحجر :—*K. Wâckidi*, 137. There is room for different interpretation. I take the passage to mean, that in all cases of birth after divorce, or of posthumous birth, &c., the lineage is to be traced to the actual parent, and in event of bastardy to the mother:—to the latter especially in case of the oath of imprecation. See above, vol. iii. p. 302.

The second clause reads literally, "and for the adulterer *a stone*:" as the word adultery includes also fornication, which is not punishable by stoning, some construe "*stone*" metaphorically as meaning "exclusion," *i.e.* that the father has no claim to the paternity of a child born out of wedlock.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 137; *Hishâmi*, 438.

§ M. C. de Perceval has it, "but not to a point such as would endanger life." This paragraph regarding women is in Hishâmi,

them suitably. And treat your Women well: for they are with you as captives and prisoners; they have not power over anything as regards themselves. And ye have verily taken them on the security of God: and have made their persons lawful unto you by the words of God.*

"And your slaves! See that ye feed them with such food as ye eat yourselves; and clothe them with the stuff ye wear. And if they commit a fault which ye are not inclined to forgive, then sell them, for they are the servants of the Lord, and are not to be tormented.

"Ye People! hearken to my speech and comprehend the same. Know that every Moslem is the brother of every other Moslem. All of you are on the same equality" (and as he pronounced these words, he raised his arms aloft and placed the forefinger of one hand ont he forefinger of the other)."† Ye are one Brotherhood.

"*Know ye what month this is?—What territory is this?—What day?*" To each question, the People gave the appropriate answer, viz., "The Sacred Month,—the Sacred Territory,—the great day of Pilgrimage." After every one of these replies, Mahomet added:—"*Even thus sacred and inviolable hath God made the Life and the Property of each of you unto the other, until ye meet your Lord.*

"Let him that is present, tell it unto him that is absent. Haply, he that shall be told, may remember better than he who hath heard it."

Abolition of the intercalary year.

Mahomet then proceeded to recite the 37th and 38th verses of the Ninth Sura, which abolish the triennial intercalation of the year, and fix the month of Pilgrimage according to the changing seasons of the lunar year.

"*Verily, the number of the months with God is twelve months, according to the Book of God, on the day in which he created the Heavens and the Earth. Of these, four are sacred:—this is the true Religion:—*

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but not in the Secretary. It will be observed that part of it is a verse from the Coran formerly noticed.

* *Hishâmi*, 436.

† Intending thereby to signify that all were absolutely on the same level.

"*Verily, the changing of the months is an excess in infidelity, which causeth the Unbelievers to err. They make a month common in one year, and they make it sacred in another year, that they may equalize the number which God hath made sacred. Thus do they make common that which God hath hallowed.**

* For an explanation of the practices here altered, see vol. i. *Introduction*, p. ccvi. In the *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1859, p. 134, there is a long and elaborate paper by Dr. Sprenger to prove that intercalation, in the ordinary sense of the word, was not practised at Mecca: that the Arab year was a purely lunar one, performing its cycle regularly, and losing one year in every thirty-three; and that the observance of the Pilgrimage was kept constantly to the season of spring, by altering it from one month to another whenever such alteration was found to be necessary for that purpose. Practically, therefore, instead of confining the Pilgrimage (according to the received theory) invariably to the same month, Dzul Hijj, which they accomplished by intercalating one month after every three years,—the Arabs, according to Dr. Sprenger's theory, held the Pilgrimage indifferently in any month of the year, shifting its observance from month to month, every three years, or whenever necessity required, in order to keep it uniformly close to the vernal equinox. It was by observing the constellations this adjustment was effected.

The hypothesis, ingeniously framed, rests, so far as tradition is concerned, on a single authority, quoted by the Secretary of Wâckidi, at p. 137½, to the effect that Abu Bakr performed the pilgrimage which preceded the farewell pilgrimage in the month of Dzul Cada (the month before Dzul Hijj); the tradition proceeds:—"In the days of heathenism they used, for two years at a time, to perform the pilgrimage (successively) in every month of the year. Now the pilgrimage of the Prophet fell out in the month of Dzul Hijj; wherefore he saith, *This day hath the time revolved as it was on the day God created the heavens and the earth.*" The tradition is from Mujâhid, good authority; but, alone and unsupported, it appears to me quite inadequate as a basis for the theory. Dr. Sprenger, indeed, would strengthen it, by shewing that the biographers compute from the Hegira downwards, for several years, by reckoning only twelve months to each year; thus the first month of the fifth year after Mahomet's arrival in Medîna is spoken of as the forty-ninth month of the Hegira, from which it appears that no

"And now," continued Mahomet, "on this very day hath time performed its cycle, and returned to the disposition thereof existing at the moment when God created the Heavens and the Earth.

Ye People! Truly Satan despaireth of being worshipped in your land for ever. But if in some indifferent matter, which ye might be disposed to slight, he could secure obedience, verily he would be well pleased. Wherefore beware ye of him!

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allowance was made by them for intercalation, else the month in question would have been styled the *fiftieth* month. This is true; but it proves only that the biographers had become so habituated to the lunar year, that they had lost sight of the ancient practice of intercalation.

Against the tradition of Mujâhid is to be put the otherwise consentaneous testimony that the greater Pilgrimage was always held in the month of Dzul Hijj; and that Mahomet, when hindered from going to Mecca, performed the Eed al Zoha, or festival of sacrifice, (corresponding with the day of sacrifice at Mina) in that month: see, *e.g. Tabari*, 326, for the festival in the second year of the Hegira. This universal belief must have had a foundation in fact. At least it requires stronger evidence than that adduced by Dr. Sprenger to disprove it. Had the facts been as he assumes, we should have had a multitude of traditions from the Prophet, directly reprobating the heathenish practice of holding the high festival in any other month but that of Dzul Hijj.

Moreover, it is possible that Mujâhid's words may bear another meaning. Holding the pure lunar year to be the only true one, he says that the real or divine calculation was going uniformly in ages past, unaffected by the unhallowed alterations made by the Coreish. The preceding pilgrimage presided over by Abu Bakr, though (according to the heathenish calculations of the Coreish) held ostensibly in Dzul Hijj, was (Mujâhid would say) according to the true divine and indefeasible era, held really in Dzul Cada. Thus also the *effect* of intercalation is described by him as leading to the celebration of the feast, really and by *divine* calculation, in the successive months of the lunar year, though made by intercalation and the erroneous system of the Coreish, to fall apparently always in Dzul Hijj;—and this would (according to the received theory) be a true representation of the case, if Mujâhid had not erroneously said that the alteration took place every two, instead of every three, years.

"Verily, I have fulfilled my mission. I have left that amongst you, a plain command,—the Book of God, and manifest ordinances —which, if ye hold fast, ye shall never go astray." *

Mahomet takes God to witness that he has fulfilled his mission.

Then, looking up to heaven, Mahomet said: "*O Lord! I have delivered my message and fulfilled my mission.*" "Yea," cried all the people who crowded round him, "yea, verily thou hast." "*O Lord! I beseech thee bear thou witness unto it.*" With these words, the Prophet concluded his address, and dismissed the great assembly.†

Returns to Mecca. Further ceremonies there.

After staying three days at Mina,‡ the concourse broke up and proceeded to Mecca. Mahomet desired the mass of the pilgrims to travel thither by day. He himself accompanied his wives on the journey by night. On reaching Mecca, he went straightway to the Kâaba, and performed the seven circuits of it on his camel. He next proceeded to the well Zemzem close by, and calling for a pitcher of its water, drank part of its contents; then he

* This paragraph, and that preceding, are from Hishâmi. They are not given by the Secretary.

† This last scene bears an aspect somewhat suspicious: it is the sort of theatrical farewell and conclusion of the mission, which it would be natural for the traditionists to conceive as winding up the Prophet's last address,—while there is no sufficient ground for believing that Mahomet was persuaded that it was his last. But the passage occurs both in the Secretary (p. 137) and in Hishâmi (p. 437), and may be admitted with this cautionary note.

The passages in Hishâmi about bygone claims for interest on money and for bloodshed being given up, appear to be taken from the speech of Mahomet on the capture of Mecca. They are not given by the Secretary.

‡ Mahomet said: "The days for staying at Mina are three; but if one stay only two it is no sin, nor if he stay more than three is it any sin." *K. Wâckidi*, 136.

rinsed his mouth in the pitcher, and desired that the water remaining in it should be thrown back into the well.* After this, taking off his shoes, he ascended the doorway of the holy temple, and prayed within its walls.† Having now ended all the ceremonies, and being fatigued with the journey, he stopped at the house of one who kept Nabîdz, or date-water, for the Pilgrims to drink, and desired the beverage to be furnished to him. The son of Abbâs, who accompanied him, interposed:—"The hands of the passers-by," he said, "have been in this all day, and fouled it: come unto my father's house, where we have some that is clean and pure for thee." But the Prophet, refusing to drink of any other, quenched his thirst upon the spot.‡

Three days more were spent at Mecca, and then Mahomet with his followers returned to Medîna. Return to Medina.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 136¼.

† Mahomet is said to have regretted that he entered the Kâaba on this occasion. When asked the reason he said, "I have this day done a thing which I wish I had left undone. I have entered the holy house. And haply some of my people, pilgrims, may not be able to enter therein, and may turn back grieved in heart (*i.e.* at not having completed the Pilgrimage fully after their Prophet's example.) And, in truth, the command given unto me was only to encircle the Kâaba: it is not incumbent on anyone to enter it."

This appears to be founded upon the notion before explained, that Mahomet *intended* this pilgrimage to be the final type and exemplar for all future pilgrims.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 137. Nabîdz is water in which dates or raisins have been steeped or washed. So accurately do the pilgrims follow their Prophet, that some regard the rites of the Pilgrimage as not properly completed unless Nabîdz be drunk as it was by Mahomet.

CHAPTER THIRTY-SECOND.

Opening of the Eleventh Year of the Hegira. April and May, 632, A.D.

The Pretenders who rise up against Mahomet.

Opening of the eleventh year of the Hegira. 29th March, A.D. 632.

THE eleventh year of the Hegira opened in peacefulness at Medîna. Mahomet was now chiefly occupied in the issue of despatches, the nomination of envoys and governors, and the consolidation of his authority in the more distant regions of Arabia. The native chiefs or princes were ordinarily maintained in the government of their respective territories when they were found suited to the Prophet's purpose. Instructors and collectors of the tithes were also deputed as his representatives, charged with political and judicial functions.

Death of Bâdzân and division of his territories.

Bâdzân, the Persian governor who, as we have seen, had early submitted himself to Mahomet, died about this time. His son Shahr was continued in the government of Sana and the surrounding district. But the other provinces hitherto combined under his authority, as Mâreb, Nâjran, and Hamâdân, were divided by Mahomet among different governors,

of whom some were natives of the several districts, and others persons specially deputed from Medina.*

Three impostors arise, claiming prophetic office.

But a new cause of danger began suddenly to cloud the horizon. Three claimants of the prophetic office arose, in various quarters of Arabia, to dispute with Mahomet the supreme authority. Their assumptions were not, however, developed till near the close of his life, and the tidings which he received of their proceedings were hardly of so grave a nature as to raise serious apprehensions in his mind. I shall not therefore do more than very briefly notice these remarkable impostors.

The moment propitious for such pretensions.

Besides the temptation to follow in his steps occasioned by the marvellous success of Mahomet, the present moment was especially propitious for the assertion of such claims. The Bedouin tribes, and distant people who had but lately succumbed to Islam, began to find its rites irksome, and its restraints unpalatable. How deep and general was this feeling, is evident from the almost universal rebellion which followed the Prophet's death, and which probably would never have been fully stifled had not the energies and passions of the Arabs been directed to foreign conquest. Mahomet was now well stricken in years, and strangers might perceive in him the marks of advancing infirmity. His death could not be far distant. No provision had been

* See detail of these in *Tabari*, p. 53, *et seq.* (*Kosegarten*, 1831.)

made for a successor, nor for the permanent maintenance at Medîna of a supreme authority over the Peninsula. If any one were bold enough to assert that he had received a divine commission, like that of Mahomet, why should his efforts not be crowned with similar success?

Tuleiha. His rebellion crushed by Khâlid.

The least important of the three impostors who now started up with these notions, was Tuleiha, chief of the Bani Asád, a warrior of note and influence in Najd.* His tribe once journeying through the desert were overpowered by thirst, when Tuleiha announced to them that water would be found at a certain spot. The discovery confirmed his authority and the claims to inspiration which he had already made. Subsequent to the death of Mahomet he broke out into open rebellion, and was defeated, after a severe engagement, by Khâlid.†

Museilama. His advances indignantly rejected by Mahomet.

Museilama has already been noticed as having accompanied the deputation of the Bani Hanîfa to Medina.‡ He was a man of small stature and of insignificant appearance, but ready and powerful in speech. Following the example of Mahomet, he gave forth verses, professed to have been received from heaven, and he pretended also to work

* Vide vol. iii. p. 199.

† On Omar's summoning the conquered rebels to join his standard, Tuleiha submitted, and afterwards with his tribe fought bravely on the side of Islam.

‡ See above, p. 217.

miracles.* He claimed an authority and mission concurrent with that of the Prophet of Medîna; and he deceived the people of Yemâma by alleging that the claim had been admitted.† Mahomet, hearing the rumour of his insolent pretensions, sent him a summons to submit to Islam.‡ Museilama returned the reply that he, too, was a prophet like Mahomet himself:—"I demand therefore that thou divide the earth with me; as for the Coreish, they are a people that have no respect for justice." When this letter was read before him, Mahomet turned with indignation to the messengers:—"*And what do ye yourselves say to this?*" he asked. "We say," they replied, "even as Museilama doth." "*By the Lord!*" exclaimed Mahomet, "*if it were not that ambassadors are secure, and their lives inviolate, I would have beheaded both of you!*" Then he indited the following answer:—"I have received thine epistle, with its lies and its fabrications against God. Verily, the earth is the Lord's: He causeth such of his servants as he pleaseth to inherit the same. Prosperity shall attend the pious. Peace be to him that followeth

* So *M. C. de Perceval*, v. iii. p. 310. He had learned the art of sleight of hand, &c. from conjurors. One of his *miracles* was to slip an egg into a narrow-mouthed phial. None of the verses attributed to him are worth quoting.

† See the words of Mahomet which he is said to have drawn into this construction—above, p. 217.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 52½. The messenger was Amr ibn Omeya, the Dhamrite, whom we have met before.

the true direction!"* The rebellion and the fate of Museilama belong to the Caliphate of Abu Bakr.

Rebellion of *Aswad,*

Aswad, the third impostor, differed from the others, in not only advancing his pretensions, but in casting off the Mussulman yoke, while Mahomet was yet alive. A prince of wealth and influence, he assumed the garb of a magician, and gave out that he was in communication with the unseen world. He prosecuted his claims at the first secretly, and gained over those chiefs who were dissatisfied with the distribution of power made by Mahomet on the death of Bâdzân. About the close of the tenth year of the Hegira, he openly raised the standard of rebellion, and drove out the officers of Mahomet, who fled for refuge to the nearest friendly country. He advanced on Najrân, which rose in his favour; he then suddenly fell upon Sanâ, where having killed Shahr the son of Bâdzân, put his army to flight, and married his widow, he established himself in undisputed authority. The insurrection, fanned by this sudden success, spread like wild-fire, and the greater part of the Peninsula lying between the provinces of Bahrein, Taif, and the coast, was soon subject to the usurper.†

* M. C. de Perceval relates that this letter was written after Mahomet had been prostrated by fever. I do not find this stated by the early biographers. Hishâmi makes the incident to occur at the end of the tenth year of the Hegira: p. 135. It probably happened early in the eleventh year.

† *Tabari*, p. 56. The proper name of Aswad was Ayhala son

crushed about the time of Mahomet's death.

At what period intimation of this rebellion reached Mahomet, and what was the nature of the intelligence he received, is not apparent. The accounts could not have been very alarming, for he contented himself with despatching letters to his officers on the spot, in which he desired them according to their means, either to assassinate the pretender, or to attack him in battle.* Fortunately for the cause of Islam, Aswad, in the pride of conquest, had already begun to slight the commanders to whose bravery he was indebted for his success. The agents of Mahomet opened up secret negotiations with them; and, favoured by the tyrant's wife, who detested him, and burned to avenge her late husband's death, plotted the assassination of Aswad. The usurper was slain, according to tradition, on the very night preceding the death of Mahomet.† The insurrection immediately ceased;

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of Kâb, styled the Ausite, because he sprang from that tribe. He is also called *Dzul Khimâr*, "the master of the ass," because it is said that he had an ass which used to make obeisance before him. According to others, the name is *Dzul Himâr*, from the wizard's "veil" or "cloak" which he wore.

* The officers describe this order thus, يامرنا فيها ان نبعث الرجال لمحاولته او لمصاولته *Tabari*, p. 58; the meaning of which I take to be as in the text.

† The event occurred probably somewhat later.

It is pretended that Mahomet had supernatural intimation of the Pretender's death on the night preceding his own. *Tabari*, p. 56.

But elsewhere it is said that tidings of the success did not reach Abu Bakr till the close of the second Rabî, *i.e.* above a

and, excepting the disquiet occasioned by some bands of the pretender's army which continued to infest the country, the authority of Mahomet's name was fully re-established.

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month and a half after the Prophet's death. *Tabari*, p. 74. News of such an event would travel swiftly, probably in not more than a fortnight or three weeks at most. I am therefore inclined to believe that the overthrow of Aswad did not take place till several weeks after Mahomet's death;—which supposition will likewise admit of the whole career of the Impostor being dated later, and will explain why Mahomet and Abu Bakr had not earlier intimation of its alarming progress.

Tradition naturally clings to the miraculous supposition that Mahomet had supernatural information of the event before his decease ; and hence antedates the event itself.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THIRD.

Sickness and Death of Mahomet. Mohurram, A.H. XI. *June*, A.D. 632.

Ætat. 63.

MAHOMET, now sixty-three years of age, was to outward appearance in ordinary health, when on the last Monday of the month Safar (unaware of the storm lowering in the south) he commanded his followers to make themselves ready for an expedition against the Roman border. It was more than a year and a half since any important campaign had been undertaken. The inroad upon Tabûk was the last occasion on which Mahomet had called out a general levy of his followers. But he had by no means lost sight of the necessity for maintaining a warlike spirit in his people. It was essential to the permanence of Islam that its aggressive course should be continuously pursued, and that its claim to an universal acceptance, or at the least to an universal supremacy, should be enforced at the point of the sword. Within the limits of Arabia this work appeared now to be accomplished. It remained to gain over the Christian and idolatrous

The principles of Islam required continued prosecution of war,

tribes of the Syrian desert, and then in the name of the Lord to throw down the gauntlet of war before the empires of Rome and Persia, which, having treated with contempt the summons of the Prophet addressed to them in solemn warning four years ago, were now ripe for chastisement.

Osâma, son of Zeid, appointed to the command of an army destined for the Syrian border. 28th Safar, A.H. XI. 25th May, A.D. 632.

The present incursion was intended to strike terror into the tribes of the border, and to wipe out the memory of the reverse at Mûta, which still rankled in the heart of Mahomet. Accordingly, on the day following the general summons above mentioned, it was declared that Osâma, the son of Zeid, the beloved friend of Mahomet, who had been slain at Mûta, was, notwithstanding his extreme youth, to command the army. Having called him to the Mosque, the Prophet thus addressed him:—"Lead the army unto the place where thy father was killed, and let them destroy it utterly. Lo! I have made thee commander over this army. Fall suddenly at early dawn upon the people of Obna, and devour them with fire. Hasten thy march so that thine onset may precede the tidings of thee. If the Lord grant thee victory, then shorten thy stay amongst them. Take with thee guides, and send before thee scouts and spies."

Banner presented, and camp formed at Jorf. 1st Mohurram, 27th May.

On Wednesday following, Mahomet was seized with a violent headache and fever; but it passed off. The next morning he found himself sufficiently recovered to bind with his own hand upon the flagstaff a banner for the army. He presented it

to Osâma with these words :—"Fight thou beneath this banner in the name of the Lord, and for his cause. Thus shalt thou discomfit and slay the people that disbelieveth in the Lord!" The camp was then formed at Jorf; and the whole body of the fighting men, not excepting even Abu Bakr and Omar, were summoned to join it. The attention of all was soon occupied by a more engrossing subject, which suspended for the time the preparations of Osâma's force.

Difficulty in weaving a connected narrative of the Prophet's sickness.

The history of Mahomet's sickness, according to the wont of his biographers, is made up of a multitude of distinct and unconnected traditions, often trifling, and sometimes contradictory, from which it is not easy to trace the correct sequence of events, or to weave a continuous and consistent narrative. It will be my endeavour to omit no important incident in relating the story of this interesting period.

Mahomet attributes his illness to the poisoned meat which he ate at Kheibar.

Mahomet had not hitherto suffered from any serious illness. About the close of the sixth year of the Hegira, he is said to have ailed temporarily from loss of appetite and a pining depression of health and spirits, ascribed, as we have seen, to the incantations of the Jews.* Again, in the middle of the seventh year, his system sustained a shock from partaking of poisoned meat at Kheibar, for which he was cupped, and the effects of which he is said

* See above, p. 80.

to have complained of periodically ever after. Indeed the present attack was attributed by Mahomet himself directly to this cause. When he had been now for several days sick, the mother of Bishr (who had died from the effects of the same poison,) came to inquire after his health; she condoled with him on the violence of the fever, and remarked that the people said it was the pleurisy. "Nay," answered Mahomet, "the Lord would never permit that sickness to seize his Apostle, for it cometh of Satan. This, verily, is the effect of that which I ate at Kheibar, I and thy son. The artery of my back feeleth as though it would just now burst asunder."

Circumstances which may have affected the strength of his constitution.

Whether his constitution was really impaired by the poison, or whether this was merely the Prophet's fancy, it is certain that the frailties of age were imperceptibly creeping upon him. His vigorous, well-knit frame began to stoop. Though frugal, if not abstemious in his habits, and in all things (the harem excepted) temperate, yet during the last twenty years of his life there had been much to tax his mind and body. At Mecca, hardship, rejection, persecution, confinement, exile;—at Medîna, the anxieties of a cause for some years doubtful, and now the cares of a daily extending dominion,—pressed upon him. Nor must we forget the excitement and agitation (possibly of an epileptic character) which occasionally overpowered him in the moments of so-called inspiration and intercourse with unseen visitants. "Ah! thou that art dearer

to me than father or mother!" exclaimed Abu Bakr, as Mahomet entered one day from his wives' apartments into the Mosque.—"Alas! grey hairs are hastening upon thee!" and the eyes of the Prophet's bosom friend filled with tears as he saw him raise his beard with his hand, and gaze at it.—"Yes," said Mahomet, "it is the travail of inspiration that hath done this. The Suras *Hûd*, and the *Inevitable*, and the *Striking*, with their fellows, have made white my hair." *

Notwithstanding increasing infirmity, Mahomet maintains his habits of simplicity.

But Mahomet did not yield to the infirmities of old age. To the very last the severe simplicity of robuster years was preserved unaltered. "The people throng about thee in the Mosque," said his uncle Abbâs to him;—"what if we make for thee an elevated seat, that they may not trouble thee?" But Mahomet forbade it:—"Surely," he said, "I will not cease from being in the midst of them, dragging my mantle behind me thus,† and covered with their dust, until that the Lord give me rest from amongst them."‡

His anticipation that his end was near.

Mahomet himself was latterly not unconscious (if we may believe the traditions of Ayesha) of the premonitions of decay. He used frequently

* These are called the *Terrific* Suras. See also vol. ii. ch. iii. p. 88. The withering effects there ascribed to the fits of inspiration, if they really at all resembled the description given by tradition, cannot but have told on his constitution.

† *i.e.* hurrying along and being jostled by the crowd.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 139.

to repeat the hundred and tenth Sura, as follows :—

"When the help of God shall come, and the Victory,
And thou shalt see men entering the Religion of God in troops;
Then celebrate the praises of thy Lord, and ask pardon of him,
for he is merciful."*

These expressions he would refer to the multitudes now flocking to the faith in Yemen and the farther coasts of Arabia. He would further declare that the sign received from the Lord of the completion of his work was thus fulfilled, and that it remained for him now only "to busy himself in the praises of his Lord and to seek for pardon."†

* The period when this was revealed is doubtful. In the Appendix to vol. ii. I have placed it in the third Meccan stage; but it may have been later.

† The reader must bear in mind that all traditions of sayings by Mahomet, thus directly anticipatory of his decease, are suspicious. They are just the kind of stories that would grow up amongst his loving and superstitious followers, in conversations which continued unrecorded for many years. There is nothing improbable in what I have placed in the text; still I cannot vouch for it.

Of the manifest fabrications, similar in tendency, take the following as a specimen. When the CXth Sura was revealed, Mahomet called Fâtima, and said,—"My daughter! I have received intimation of my approaching end." Fâtima burst into tears. "Why weepest thou, my child?" continued the Prophet; "be comforted, for verily thou art the first of my people that shall rejoin me." Whereupon Fâtima dried her tears and smiled pleasantly." *K. Wâckidi*, 139, 151. As Fâtima died within six months after her father, it is easy to see how this tale grew up. Similar are all the traditions in glorification of Fâtima: *e. g.* where Mahomet calls her "the Queen of all the females of Paradise after Mary the Mother of Jesus." *Ibid.* So with all the traditions predicting divisions, sects, intestine war, &c. A shade of

When attacked by his last illness, Mahomet, though probably feeling it to be serious, did not at the first succumb; for a day or two he still maintained the custom he had prescribed to himself of visiting his wives' apartments in rotation. One night lying restless on his bed, he arose softly, cast his clothes about him, and followed by a servant, walked to the burial ground, Backî al Gharcad. There he waited long absorbed in meditation. At last winding up his thoughts, he prayed aloud for those who were buried there, apostrophizing thus:—"*Verily, ye and I have both received the fulfilment of that which our Lord did promise us. Blessed are ye! for ye enjoy a lot far preferable to the lot of those who are left behind. Temptation and trial approach like portions of a dark night following rapidly one upon another, each portion darker than those preceding. O Lord! grant pardon unto them that are buried here!*" Then he turned and departed to his house. By the way, he told his attendant that he too was hastening to the grave:—"The choice hath verily been offered me of continuance in this life, with Paradise thereafter, or to meet my Lord at once; and I have chosen to meet my Lord."* He visits the burying ground.

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the same tendency will be observed in the prayer quoted below, at the burial ground, which, notwithstanding, I have given entire.

* For this latter saying, repeated again, see note below. By "continuance in this life" is probably meant only *a longer life.*

We have now reached a point in Mahomet's biography which has become the arena for the contending traditions of party and faction.

Ayesha's raillery when he seeks her commiseration.

In the morning, passing by the door of Ayesha, who was suffering from a severe headache, he heard her moaning: "My head!—oh, my head!"* He

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First, Ayesha, who had the closest opportunities by far of all others for watching the last moments of Mahomet, has made the most of her position; throughout her statements there is a patent endeavour to exclude even the mention of Ali and his partisans. There is, *secondly*, the party of Ali, who (with the view of strengthening their dogma that the divine right of succession was vested in their hero and his posterity) would attribute to him every important part in the scene. And, *lastly*, there are the Abbassides (holding the right of succession to reside in the near relatives of the Prophet and their heirs), whose tendency is to magnify Abbâs and his family. Every tradition is coloured by these factions; and it is necessary to steer very cautiously among them. Compare vol. i. *Introd.* pp. xxxvii.-xli.

For the scene in the text, we have the following variations:—I. Ayesha perceiving Mahomet go forth, sent her maid Barîda to watch where he went: this Barîda did, and managed to get back before her master. II. Ayesha herself followed Mahomet, who reproved her at the grave-yard for her curiosity. III. Ayesha says that he *frequently* visited the grave-yard at night. IV. A fourth tradition from Ayesha says that his servant Abu Râfî accompanied Mahomet on the occasion. V. A tradition from another source makes Fadhala (*alias* Abu Muweihiba, a Yemen slave of his) to have gone with the prophet. The two last traditions are otherwise very similar with the tenor of the text. *K. Wâckidi*, 141¼. Hishâmi gives only the last: p. 455.

The probability seems to be that there was only one night-visit to the grave-yard; and that the several parties desirous of the honour of being associated with so remarkable a scene invented the other occasions.

There are other traditions which say that after his illness commenced, Mahomet went also to pray at Ohod for those who fell there. But this is evidently unfounded. *K. Wâckidi*, 142.

* In another tradition, Ayesha says:—"As often as Mahomet passed my door, he would speak a word to me, which the Lord used to bless to my good. Now for two days he passed by and

entered and said: "Nay, Ayesha, it is rather I that have need to cry *my head, my head!*" Then in a tender strain:—"But wouldst thou not desire to be taken whilst I am yet alive; so that I might pray over thee, and wrapping thee, Ayesha, in thy winding sheet, thus commit thee to the grave?" "That happen to another," exclaimed Ayesha, "and not to me!" archly adding:—"Ah, that is what thou art desirous of! Truly, I can fancy thee, after having done all this, return straightway to my house, and spend that very evening sporting in my place with another wife!" The Prophet smiled at Ayesha's raillery, but his sickness pressed on him too heavily to admit of a rejoinder in the same strain; and so again with a sad complaint of the grievous ailment in his head, he returned to the apartment of Meimûna, whose day it was.*

Mahomet retires to Ayesha's house.

Mahomet had not been long there before the fever returned upon him with increasing violence. So calling his wives around him, he said: "Ye see that I lie very sick: I am not able to visit your houses in turn; if it be pleasing to you, I will remain in the house of Ayesha." All agreed to

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did not say a word. So I made my maid place my pillow at the door, and I reclined there with my head bound round with a napkin; when the Prophet passed by, he asked me what ailed me. I replied, "My head pains me," and so on as in the text. *K. Wâckidi*, 147½.

* *Hishâmi*, 455; *K. Wâckidi*, 142, 146. The tradition in the latter authority ends with a fabricated passage intended to support the claim of Abu Bakr, as against Ali, to the Caliphate.

the proposal. His clothes having been wrapped loosely around him, and his head bound about with a napkin, the Prophet walked with the support of Ali and Abbâs to the apartment of Ayesha.* Though not yet twenty years of age, and though she had never before waited upon any one in sickness, Ayesha watched with the utmost solicitude and tenderness over the death-bed of her aged husband.

He addresses the people regarding their murmurs against Osâma's appointment.

For seven or eight days, the fever, although unchecked, did not confine Mahomet entirely to the house. He was able to move into the Mosque (the door of his apartment opening into its courts) and lead, though feebly, the public prayers. He had been ill about a week,† when perceiving that the sickness gained ground, and was aggravated by occasional fits of swooning, he resolved upon an effort to address the people, whose murmurs at the appointment of the youth Osâma to the command of the Syrian army had reached his ears.‡

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 147½; *Hishâmi*, 456. Ayesha does not name Ali. Some mention Fadhl in place of his father Abbâs.

† The dates are to some degree conjectural. I suppose this to have happened about Wednesday or Thursday, the 8th or 9th Mohurram (4th or 5th June); after which Abu Bakr was appointed to lead the public prayers. The Secretary speaks of it as occurring on the Saturday, *i. e.* ten or eleven days after he was seized by the fever; but in another place he mentions the address as being delivered five days before his death, which would bring it to either Wednesday or Thursday: p. 138½. Hishâmi says it occurred after he had once swooned away.

‡ "And the people spake, saying, 'He hath put this stripling in command over the chiefest of the Refugees.' The Prophet

"Fetch me," he said, "seven skins of water from as many different wells, that I may bathe and then go forth unto them." They procured the water, and seating him in Haphsa's bathing vessel, poured it upon him from the skins till he held up his hand and cried "enough!" Meanwhile the people, both men and women, had assembled in the Mosque; it was told the Prophet that they had come together, and that many wept. Being now refreshed by the bath, he went forth to them with his head bandaged, a sheet being drawn loosely round him, and seated himself in the pulpit. After prayer, and certain introductory phrases in the usual style, he proceeded:—"Ye people! What is this which hath reached me, that some amongst you murmur against my appointment of Osâma to command the Syrian army? Now, if ye blame my appointment of Osâma, verily heretofore ye blamed likewise my appointment of his father Zeid before him. And I swear by the Lord, that he verily was well fitted for the command, and that his son after him is well fitted also. Truly Osâma is one of the men most dearly beloved by me, even as his father was. Wherefore, do ye treat him well, for he is one of the best amongst you."

Announcing his conviction that the disease was his last, he directs

After a pause he continued:—"Verily, the Lord hath offered unto one of his servants the choice betwixt this life and that which is nigh unto him-

heard of this, and was very wroth. Then he came forth with his head bandaged," &c. *K. Wâckidi*, 138½.

the private doors leading into the Mosque to be closed.

self; and the servant hath chosen that which is nigh unto his Lord." Mahomet by this saying intended to communicate by way of euphemism to the people, his anticipation that the illness would prove his last. But they were slow of apprehension. Abu Bakr alone perceived his meaning, and burst into tears. Mahomet, in accents of affection, desired him not to weep. Then turning to the people, he said,—"Verily the chiefest among you all for love and devotion to me is Abu Bakr. If I were to choose a bosom friend it would be he: but Islam hath made a closer brotherhood amongst us all. Now let every door that leadeth into the Mosque be closed, excepting only the door of Abu Bakr." Accordingly the relatives of Mahomet and the chief men, whose houses skirted the quadrangle of the Mosque, closed their doors, that of Abu Bakr alone remaining open.* Thus the busy hum and tread

* *K. Wâckidi*, 139½, 146½; *Hishâmi*, 457. Each reader must judge for himself whether there is not too much of anticipation in this scene to be consistent with its reality; I see no ground for not regarding it as natural. The same remark applies to the following paragraph.

It is likely that the expression used by Mahomet regarding the *choice* of death or life was of a more general nature, such as "that he preferred to depart and be near his Lord," (something, perhaps, in the manner of Paul's words, Phil. i. 21);—which tradition would easily and naturally convert into the mysterious phrase "that he had *made election* of Paradise." Against the text it might be urged that after such a declaration the people ought to have been more prepared for the Prophet's death when it did happen. But the scene after his death was justified by the circumstances, as will be seen below, and is to my apprehension

were hushed, as became the precincts of death, and the courts of the Mosque were frequented only by worshipers at the hour of prayer, and by knots of whispering followers, inquiring anxiously after the Prophet's health.

He commends the citizens of Medîna to the care of his followers.

As he was about to re-enter Ayesha's room, Mahomet turned again, and in testimony of his gratitude to the people of Medîna, thus addressed the assembly:—"Ye that are refugees from Mecca and other quarters, hearken to me! Ye increase, and throng into the city daily. But the men of Medîna do not increase. They will remain ever as they are this day. And verily they are dear unto me, for among them I found a refuge. Wherefore honour their honourable men, and treat well their excellent ones." Then having urged the early departure of the Syrian expedition, he retired into the room of Ayesha.*

Abu Bakr appointed to lead the public prayers in the absence of Mahomet.

The exertion and excitement of delivering this address aggravated the Prophet's sickness. On the following day,† when the hour of public prayer

quite consistent with even a more explicit statement by Mahomet than this, of his forebodings.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 151; *Hishâmi*, 458.

† This was probably Friday. I have assumed that the previous scene occurred on Thursday: but it may *possibly* have been on Friday, Mahomet taking advantage of the congregation usually assembling on that day to make his address; if such were the case (but there is no express tradition to support the supposition) the present scene would be fixed for Saturday.

It is said that Abu Bakr led the prayers for three days before the Prophet's death, which fixes the present incident as occurring

came round, he called for water to perform the preparatory ablutions; but on attempting to rise, he found that his strength had failed, so he commanded that Abu Bakr should conduct the prayers in his stead; and having given this order he fell back in a fainting fit. Soon recovering, he inquired whether the commission had been conveyed to his friend. Ayesha replied "O Prophet! Truly Abu Bakr is a man of a tender heart, and weepeth readily. The people would with difficulty hear his voice." "Command that he lead the prayers," repeated Mahomet in a loud and imperative tone. Ayesha, still clinging to the hope that Mahomet would be able himself to perform the duty, began again in a similar strain. Displeased and irritated, Mahomet exclaimed: "Truly, ye resemble the foolish women in the story of Joseph:* give command forthwith as I desire." The command was given, and Abu Bakr conducted the public

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on Friday or on Saturday, according as Monday is counted in the three days or not. Another tradition makes him to have led the prayers on seventeen occasions, which would be equal to three days and part of a fourth, bringing the date to Friday. *K. Wâckidi*, 145½.

In one place it is said that Mahomet, throughout his illness, came out to the prayers whenever he could; and that if he came out late, he made up at the end of the service what he had missed at the beginning of it. *K. Wâckidi*, 145½. But the tradition is unsupported.

* See *Sura*, xii. The Commentators refer this expression to the scene in which the women of Egypt cut their hands in astonishment at the beauty of Joseph: v. 32.

prayers during the few remaining days of the Prophet's life.*

The right of presiding at the public prayers was always recognized as the mark of the chief secular power. And there can, I think, be little doubt that Mahomet by his nomination intended to signify the delegation of the supreme authority to Abu Bakr while he was laid aside, if not to mark him as his successor after death. It is related that on one occasion Abu Bakr happened not to be present when the summons to prayer was sounded by Bilâl, and that Omar having received, as he erroneously believed, the command of Mahomet to officiate in his room, stood up in the Mosque, and in his power-

Mahomet by this, signified the transfer to him, as his deputy, of the ruling power.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 144, 145; *Hishâmi*, 459. Tradition is quite unanimous as to this scene. The only point on which I have ventured to deviate from it, is the *motive* of Ayesha. She herself says that she objected simply from the fear that the people would ever after dislike her father for having stood up in the Prophet's place, and would attribute any evil that might happen to ill-luck arising out of his usurpation. This I believe to be an afterthought. Ayesha was ambitious enough, and no doubt rejoiced greatly at this indication of her father to the chief command. But she was also overcome at the moment by concern for her husband, and could not bear the admission that he was so dangerously ill as the nomination appeared to imply. It seemed to her to be a foreboding of his end: an inauspicious forestalling of the succession. Hence she deprecated the idea.

One set of traditions makes her to propose that Omar should conduct the prayers in her father's stead. This is unlikely, but supposing it to be true, her proposal may have arisen from the same cause;—she knew well that Mahomet would not pass over Abu Bakr, and may from false modesty, or it may be real delicacy, have suggested that Omar, and not her father, should be nominated to the invidious post.

ful voice commenced the *Takbîr*, "Great is the Lord!" preparatory to the public service. Mahomet overhearing this from his apartment, called aloud with energy,—"No! No! No! The Lord and the whole body of believers forbid it! Let no one lead the prayers but only Abu Bakr!"*

He urges the despatch of Osâma's army, and that all embassies should be treated well.

While thus unable to leave the room of Ayesha, Mahomet was too weak to attend to any public business. Yet the Syrian expedition weighed upon his mind: he continued saying† to those around him,—"Send off quickly the army of Osâma." He also enjoined that all embassies which might arrive, should be treated with the same consideration, and receive the same largesses, as he had been wont himself to bestow.

Increase of illness; Saturday night, 11th of 1st Rabî, 6th June.

On the night of Saturday, the sickness assumed a very serious aspect. The fever rose to such a pitch that the hand could hardly be kept upon his skin from its burning heat.‡ His body was racked with

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 145½; *Hishâmi*, 459. This tradition is not beyond suspicion; yet I do not see sufficient cause for its rejection. But there is one form of it which may be summarily cast aside: namely, that in which Haphsa gives orders to Bilâl to make her father (Omar) conduct the public prayers, whereupon Mahomet chides her, and says that "she resembles the females in the story of Joseph;" adding these words, "Speak to Abu Bakr that he lead the prayers; *for verily if I make him not my deputy, the people will not be obedient unto him.*" *K. Wâckidi*, 145½. It is certain that Mahomet never *expressed* himself in this manner, whatever he may have desired to imply by the order appointing Abu Bakr to the duty.

† جعل يقول *K. Wâckidi*, 138½.

‡ *Ibid.* 142½.

pain; restless and moaning, he tossed about upon his bed. Alarmed at a severe paroxysm of the disease, Omm Salma, one of his wives, screamed aloud. Mahomet rebuked her:—"Quiet!" he said. "No one crieth out thus but an unbeliever." During the night, Ayesha sought to comfort him, and suggested that he should seek for consolation in the same lessons he had so often taught to others when in sickness:—"O Prophet!" she said, "if one of us had moaned thus, thou wouldst surely have found fault with it." "Yes," he replied, "but I burn with the fever-heat of any two of you together." "Then," exclaimed one, "thou shalt surely have a double reward." "Yes," he answered,—"I swear by him in whose hands is my life, that there is not upon the earth a believer afflicted with any calamity or disease, but the Lord thereby causeth his sins to fall from him, even as leaves are shed in autumn from a tree." At another time he said,—"Suffering is an expiation for sin.* Verily, if the believer suffer but the scratch of a thorn, the Lord raiseth his rank thereby, and wipeth away from him a sin." "Believers," he would affirm, "are tried according to their faith. If a man's faith be strong, so are his sufferings; if he be weak, they are proportioned thereunto. Yet in any case, the suffering shall not be remitted until he walk upon earth without the guilt of a single transgression cleaving unto him."

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 142. ان المومن يشده عليه ليكون كفارةً لخطاياه.

Sayings of Mahomet on his death-bed.

Omar, approaching the bed, placed his hand on Mahomet's forehead, and suddenly withdrew, it from the greatness of the heat :—"O Prophet!" he said, "how violent is the fever on thee!" "Yea, verily," replied Mahomet, "but I have been during the night season repeating in praise of the Lord seventy Suras, and among them the seven long ones." Omar answered :—"But the Lord hath forgiven thee all thy sins, the former and the latter; now then, why not rest and take thine ease?" "Nay," replied Mahomet, "for wherefore should I not be a faithful servant unto him?"

An attendant, while Mahomet lay covered up, put his hand below the sheet, and feeling the excessive heat, made a remark similar to that of Omar. Mahomet replied :—"Even as this affliction prevaileth now against me, so shall my reward hereafter be enhanced." "And who are they," asked another, "that suffer the severest trials?" "The Prophets and the righteous," said Mahomet; and then he made mention of one Prophet having been destroyed by lice, and of another who was tried with poverty, so that he had but a rag to cover his nakedness withal: "yet each of them rejoiced exceedingly in his affliction, even as one of you would rejoice in great spoil."*

Osâma visits him: Sunday, 12th Rabi, 7th June.

On the Sunday, Mahomet lay in a very weak

* These sayings are all taken from the Secretary, p. 142, *et seq.* The sufferings of Mahomet may have been magnified, and some of these sayings exaggerated if not entirely fabricated: but they are all truly illustrative, I think, of the death-bed scene.

and helpless state. Osâma, who had delayed his departure to see what the issue of the sickness might be, came in from Jorf to visit him. Removing the clothes from the Prophet's face, he stooped down and kissed him, but there was no audible response. Mahomet only raised his hands to heaven in the attitude of blessing, and then placed them upon Osâma. So he returned to the camp.*

Mahomet physicked by his wives.

During some part of this day, Mahomet complained of pain in his side, and the suffering became so great, that he fell into a state of unconsciousness. Omm Salma advised that physic should be given him. Asma, the sister of Meimûna, prepared a draught after an Abyssinian recipe, and they forced it into his mouth.† Reviving from its effects he felt the unpleasant taste in his mouth, and cried, "What is this that ye have done to me? Ye have even given me physic!" They confessed that they had done so, and enumerated the ingredients of which Asma had compounded it.‡ "Out upon you!" he angrily exclaimed; "this is a remedy for the pleurisy, which she hath learned in the land of Abyssinia; but that is not a disease which the Lord will suffer to attack me. Now shall ye all partake

* *K. Wâckidi*, 138¼.

† Her name was Asma bint Oneis; she had emigrated to Abyssinia with her husband Jáfar, brother of Ali. After his death, she married Abu Bakr, whose wife she probably at this time was. After Abu Bakr's death, Ali married her. She had issue by all three. See above, p. 88, and 101.

‡ Indian Wood العود الهندي; a little *Wars* seed ورس; mixed with some drops of olive oil. *K. Wâckidi*, 148¼.

of the same dose. Let not one remain in the house without being physicked, even as ye have physicked me, excepting only my uncle Abbâs." So all the women arose, and they poured the physic, in presence of the dying Prophet, into each other's mouths.*

Mahomet curses the Jews and Christians.

After this the conversation turning upon Abyssinia, Omm Salma and Omm Habîba, who had both been exiles there, spoke of the beauty of a cathedral in that country, called the church of *Maria* (St. Mary) and of the wonderful pictures on its walls. Mahomet listened quietly to them, and then said,—"These verily are the people who, when a good man hath lived amongst them, build over his tomb a place of worship, and they adorn it with their pictures. These, in the eyes of the Lord, are the worst part of all the creation." He stopped, and covered himself with the bedclothes; then casting them off in the restlessness,† and perhaps delirium, of the fever, he said: "The Lord destroy the Jews and Christians!‡

* This scene is well attested by several traditions. How strangely it must have contrasted with the solemnity of the Prophet's death-bed! *K. Wâckidi*, 148; *Hishâmi*, 458.

Meimûna pleaded that she was, in pursuance of an oath by Mahomet, under a vow of fasting, and could not, therefore, allow anything, even medicine, to pass her lips; but the excuse was unavailing. Another tradition represents Mahomet as grounding his displeasure at being forced to take physic, on the fact, that "he was then fasting." He had, probably, made some vow to this effect in reference to his sickness.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 149. Traditions from Ayesha and the son of Abbâs. "He kept drawing the clothes over his face, and then pulling them off again." *Ibid.* p. 153.

‡ Some authorities omit the *Christians* from this tradition. *K. Wâckidi*, 149½.

Let his anger be kindled against those that turn the tombs of their Prophets into places of worship. O Lord, let not my tomb be an object of worship!* Let there not remain any faith but that of Islam throughout the whole land of Arabia!"†

He calls for writing materials.

About this time, recognizing Omar, and some other chief men in the room, he called out,— "Bring hither to me ink and paper,‡ that I may record for you a writing which shall prevent your going astray for ever." Omar said,—"He wandereth

* This last clause may be an after-thought.

† *Lit.* "Let there not remain two Religions," &c. *K. Wâckidi*, 149½, 152½. *Vide* vol. ii. p. 302, *note*. I have there ventured to doubt that Mahomet gave this command, because the Christians of Najrân were not expelled till long after, and then only on a charge of usury. So also the Jews of Kheibar were allowed for several years to remain, and then exiled because of some alleged deeds of violence: see above, p. 75.

I think these facts prove that there was no command by the Prophet, recognized by the Moslems, to this effect. Had there been, Abu Bakr and Omar would no doubt have made it one of their first objects to fulfil the order,—existing treaties and engagements notwithstanding. A command of Mahomet was never questioned by them during his life, much less after his death. I conclude that either the sentence is a fabrication, or that having been uttered in delirium, it was not felt to be binding. If uttered at all, even in delirium, it is a significant index of the current of Mahomet's thoughts.

In some traditions the command is connected with a scene in which Mahomet said that he had three injunctions to deliver; one concerned the treatment of the embassies arriving at Medîna (see above, p. 266); the second directed the ejection of Jews and Christians from Arabia; before he could explain the third, he became unconscious. Other injunctions are given, as being kind to slaves; paying tithes; observing prayer, &c. *K. Wâckidi*, 150, 152; *Hishâmi*, 487.

‡ One tradition has it that he called for "a shoulder blade" to write upon. *K. Wâckidi*, 150.

in his mind. Is not the Coran sufficient for us?" But the women wished that the writing materials should be brought; and a discussion ensued. Thereupon one said,—"What is his condition at this present moment? Come let us see whether he speaketh deliriously or not." So they went and asked him what his wishes were regarding the writing he had spoken of; but he no longer desired to indite it. "Leave me thus alone," he said, "for my present state is better than that ye call me to.*"

He distributes alms.

In the course of this day, Mahomet called Ayesha to him, and said,—"Where is that gold which I gave unto thee to keep?" On her replying that it was by her, he desired that she should spend it at once in charity. Then he dozed off in a half conscious state; and some time after asked if she had done as he desired her. On her saying that she had not yet done so, he called for the money (which was apparently a portion of the tithe income); she placed it in his hand, and

* *K. Wâckidi*, 149½, 150;—either speaking incoherently, or meaning that he did not feel equal to the task. Abbâs is represented as lamenting the irreparable loss sustained by the absence of what Mahomet intended to dictate, and saying that his followers lost it through their quarrelling. But Mahomet was evidently wandering, when he called for the writing materials.

When the women were about to bring the writing materials, Omar chided them:—"Quiet!" he said. "Ye behave as women always do; when your master falleth sick ye burst into tears, and the moment he recovereth a little, ye begin embracing him." Mahomet, jealous even on his death-bed of the good name of his wives, was aroused by these words, and said,—"Verily, they are better than ye are." *Ibid.* If this tradition be true, it shews that Mahomet was only partially delirious at the moment.

counted six dinars. He directed that it should be divided among certain indigent families; and then lying down he said,—"Now I am at peace. Verily it would not have become me to meet my Lord, and this gold in my possession."*

All Sunday night the illness continued unabated. He was overheard praying: one of his ejaculations was to this effect:—"O my soul! Why seekest thou for refuge elsewhere than in God alone?"† The morning brought some measure of relief. The fever and the pain abated; and there was an apparent return of strength.

Improvement on Monday morning, 13th of 1st Rabi; 8th June.

The dangerous crisis of the Prophet's sickness on the preceding night having become known throughout the city, the Mosque was crowded in the morning, at the hour of prayer, by men and women who came seeking anxiously for tidings. Abu Bakr, as usual, led the devotions; as Imam he stood in the place of Mahomet before the congregation, his back turned towards them.‡ He had ended the

Mahomet comes out to the morning prayer;

* *K. Wâckidi*, 148½, 149. The story is told in various ways, but the version in the text is probably correct. Some traditions unite the incident with one of those strange tales of Ayesha which contrast the Prophet's poverty with his benevolence. She was obliged (she says) to a neighbour to get oil for her lamp when Mahomet was on his death-bed. See vol. i. *Introduction*, p. lx. There are many traditions to show Mahomet's unwillingness to retain money in his possession. He used to give every thing away in charity; and did not even like retaining money in his house over the night. All this is probably exaggerated.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 153. In all his previous illnesses, Mahomet had prayed for his recovery. This prayer, according to tradition, signified that now his expectation was to depart.

‡ It will be remembered that in Mahometan prayers, the whole

first *Rakaat*, or series of prostrations, and the people had stood up again for a second, when the curtain of Ayesha's door (to the left of the audience, and a little way behind Abu Bakr), slowly moved aside, and Mahomet himself appeared. As he entered the assembly, he whispered in the ear of Fadhl son of Abbâs, who with a servant* supported him: "The Lord verily hath granted unto me refreshment† in prayer;" and he looked around with a smile of inexpressible pleasure, which was marked by all who at the moment caught a glimpse of his countenance.‡ That smile no doubt was the index of deep emotion in his heart. What doubts or fears may have crossed the mind of Mahomet, as he lay on the bed of death, and felt that the time was drawing nigh when he must render his account to that God whose messenger he professed to be,—tradition affords us no grounds even to conjecture. The rival claims of Aswâd and Museilama had perhaps suggested misgivings such as those which long before distracted his soul. What if he too were an impostor, deceiving himself and deceiving others

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congregation, the Imam included, look towards Mecca. The people are ranged in rows behind the Imam, and follow his motions.

* Thoubân, a slave from Yemen. Alyite tradition substitutes Ali for him.

† *Lit.* "Cooling of the eyes." *K. Wâckidi*, 145.

‡ That is by the portion of the congregation in a line with the door, who were standing sideways to it, and by all the ranks behind them. Those in front had their backs partly towards him; but some of them also may probably have turned round to see the cause of the general sensation.

also! If any doubts and questionings of this nature had arisen in his mind, the sight of the great congregation, in attitude devout and earnest, may have caused comfort and reassurance. That which brings forth good fruit, he would argue, must itself be good. The mission which had transformed gross and debased idolaters into spiritual worshippers such as these, resigning every faculty to the service of the one great God,—and which, wherever accepted and believed in, was daily producing the same wonderful change,—that mission must be divine, and the voice from within which prompted him to undertake it must have been the voice of the Almighty, revealed through his ministering spirit. Perhaps it was a thought like this which passed at the moment through the mind of the Prophet, and lighted up his countenance with that smile of joy, diffusing gladness over the crowded courts of the Mosque.

and takes his seat beside Abu Bakr.

Having paused thus for a moment at the door, Mahomet, supported as before, moved on towards the front where Abu Bakr stood. The people made way for him, opening their ranks as he advanced. Abu Bakr heard the rustle (for he never when at prayer turned himself or looked to the right hand or the left), and apprehending the cause which alone at that time could create so great a sensation, stepped backwards to join the congregation, and vacate the place of leader, for the Prophet. But Mahomet motioned him to resume the post, and taking his hand walked on towards the pulpit. There he sat on the ground by the side of Abu

Bakr, who resumed the service, and finished it in the customary form.

Abu Bakr goes to visit his wife at Al Sunh.

When the prayers were ended, Abu Bakr entered into conversation with Mahomet. He rejoiced to find him to all appearance convalescent. "O Prophet," he said,—"I perceive that by the grace of God, thou art better to-day, even as we desire to see thee. Now this day is the turn of my wife, the daughter of Khârija; shall I go and visit her?" * Mahomet gave him permission. So he departed to her house at Al Sunh, a suburb of the upper city.

Mahomet speaks with the people around him in the Mosque.

Mahomet then sat himself down for a little while near the door of Ayesha's room, and addressed the people, who, overjoyed to find him again in the midst of them, crowded round. He spoke with emotion, and with a voice still so powerful as to reach beyond the outer doors of the Mosque. "By the Lord!" he said, "as for myself, verily, no man can lay hold of me in any matter;† I have not made lawful anything excepting what God hath made lawful; nor have I prohibited aught but that which God in his book hath prohibited." Osâma was there; when he came to bid farewell, Mahomet

* This was the wife whom he had married at Medîna, from the Bani Hârith ibn al Khazraj: see vol. iii. p. 8. The Moslems imitated Mahomet's custom of spending a day in succession with each of their wives.

† In this expression probably originated the traditions that Mahomet called upon all claimants to advance and state what demands they had against him; some creditors having claims of trifling amount came forward, it is said, and he discharged their debts. The appeal somewhat resembles that of Samuel; 1 Sam. xii. 3.

said to him: "Go forward with the army; and the blessing of the Lord be with thee!" Then turning to the women who sat close by:—"O Fâtima!" he exclaimed, "my daughter, and Safiâ, my aunt! Work ye both that which shall procure you acceptance with the Lord: for verily I have no power with him to save you in anywise." Having said this, he arose and re-entered the room of Ayesha.*

He retires exhausted to Ayesha's room.

Mahomet, exhausted by the exertion he had undergone, lay down upon his bed; and Ayesha, seeing him to be very weak, raised his head and placed it on her bosom. At that moment, one of her relatives entered with a green tooth-pick in his hand.† Ayesha observed that the eye of Mahomet rested on it, and knowing it to be such as he liked, asked whether he wished to have it. He signified assent. Chewing it a little to make it soft and pliable, she placed it in his hand. This pleased him; for he took up the tooth-pick and used it, rubbing his teeth with his ordinary vigour; then he put it down.

The hour of death draws near.

His strength now rapidly sank. He seemed to be aware that death was drawing near. He called for a pitcher of water, and wetting his face, prayed thus:—"O Lord, I beseech thee assist me in the

* In this narrative I have followed the Secretary, pp. 144, 145; and Hishâmi, p. 460.

† In the east, the fresh and tender wood of trees is used for this purpose, cut into thin and narrow pieces.

agonies of death!" Then three times he ejaculated earnestly,—"Gabriel, come close unto me!" *

Mahomet dies in the arms of Ayesha.

At this time, he began to blow upon himself, perhaps in the half-consciousness of delirium, repeating the while an ejaculatory form which he had been in the habit of praying over those who were very sick. When he ceased, from weakness, Ayesha took up the task, and continued to blow upon him and recite the same prayer. Then, seeing that he was very low, she seized his right hand and rubbed it (another practice of the Prophet when visiting the sick), repeating all the while the earnest invocation.† But Mahomet was too far

* *K. Wâckidi*, 153.

† A great many traditions are given by the Secretary (p. 143), explaining how Mahomet used this form of prayer, accompanied by rubbing or blowing, after the fashion of a charm or incantation. The prayer was, "*Take away evil and misfortune, O thou Lord of mankind! Grant a cure, for thou art the Physician. There is no cure besides thine; it leaveth nought of the disease behind.*"

I have omitted, of course, in the text, all mention of the incantation which Gabriel is said to have recited over the dying Prophet; the story of the Angel of Death coming to ask permission before he proceeded to exercise his vocation upon him; the voices of unseen visitants wailing, &c. But I may subjoin the following tradition from Jáfar ibn Muhammad, as illustrative of Mahometan ideas on the subject:—

"Three days before the death of Mahomet, Gabriel came down to visit him:—'O Ahmad!' he said, 'the Lord hath deputed me thus as an honour and dignity and a peculiar favour unto thee, that he may inquire of thee concerning that, indeed, which he knoweth better than thou thyself: He asketh, *How thou findest thyself this day?*' 'O Gabriel!' replied the Prophet, 'I find myself in sore trouble and agony.' The next day, Gabriel again visited Mahomet, and accosted him in the same words; Mahomet replied as before. On the third day, there descended with

gone to bear even this. He wished now to be in perfect quiet:—"Take off thy hand from me," he said; "that cannot benefit me now." After a little he prayed in a whisper,—"Lord grant me pardon; and join me to the companionship on high." Then at intervals:—"Eternity in Paradise!"—"Pardon!" "Yes; the blessed companionship on high!" He stretched himself gently. Then all was still. His

Gabriel the Angel of Death; and there also alighted with him another angel, called Ismaîl, who inhabiteth the air, never ascending up to heaven, and never before having descended to the earth since its creation; and he came in command of 70,000 angels, each one of which was in command of 70,000 more. Gabriel, proceeding in advance of these, addressed Mahomet in the same words as before, and received the same reply. Then said Gabriel,—'This, O Mahomet! is the Angel of Death. He asketh of thee permission to enter. He hath asked permission of no man before, neither shall he ask permission of any after thee.' Mahomet gave permission; so the Angel of Death entered in, and stood before Mahomet, and said:—'O Ahmad, Prophet of the Lord! Verily God hath sent me unto thee, and hath commanded me to obey thee in all that thou mayest direct. Bid me to take thy soul, and I will take it; bid me to leave it, and I will do accordingly.' To which, Mahomet replied:—'Wilt thou, indeed, do so, O Angel of Death!' The angel protested that his mission was to do only that which Mahomet might command. On this, Gabriel interposed, and said:—'O Ahmad! verily the Lord is desirous of thy company.' 'Proceed, then,' said Mahomet, addressing the Angel of Death, 'and do thy work, even as thou art commanded.' Gabriel now bade adieu to Mahomet:—'Peace be on thee,' he said, 'O Prophet of the Lord! This is the last time that I shall tread the earth; with this world I have now concern no longer.'

"So the Prophet died; and there arose a wailing of celestial voices (the sound was audible, but no form was seen), saying, '*Peace be on you, ye inhabitants of this house, and mercy from the Lord, and his blessing! Every soul shall taste death,*'"—and so on. *K. Wâckidi*, p. 153½.

head grew heavy on the breast of Ayesha. The Prophet of Arabia was dead.*

She replaces his head on the pillow and joins in the wailing.

Softly removing his head from her bosom, Ayesha placed it on the pillow, and rising up joined the other women, beating her face in bitter lamentation.

It was still but a little after mid-day.

The sun had but shortly passed the meridian. It was only an hour or two since Mahomet had entered the Mosque cheerful, and seemingly convalescent. He now lay cold in death.†

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* There is a vast concurrence of trustworthy tradition supporting, in one or other point, the narrative I have given. The story that Mahomet died in Ali's lap is an evident fabrication.

I have ventured to bring together the several separate ejaculations which distinct traditions give as his last words. They were probably spoken at short intervals, as represented in the text.

† The day of Mahomet's death was Monday the 8th June. The popular date assigned is the *twelfth* of Rabî I. (which, it will be remembered, was also the date of his arrival at Medîna); but the date in Rabî I. corresponding with the 8th June, is the *thirteenth*, which many traditions name as the day of Mahomet's death. The month depending on the moon, any supposed date might often, in popular conversation, be a day on one side or the other of the real date.

There is a great array of authorities fixing the age of Mahomet at sixty-three years. Other traditions give sixty, and some sixty-five years. *K. Wâckidi*, 163. For the cause of the variation, see vol. i. p. ccvi. *note*, and p. 14, *note* †. There is a curious tradition of a saying by Mahomet, that every prophet exercised his public ministry for a period equal to half his age at the time of assuming the prophetical office. As, at that time, Mahomet was forty years old, he by this calculation lived only sixty years. Jesus, it is added, was eighty years old when he became a prophet, and he finished his ministry at the age of one hundred and twenty years. Another strange conceit is that each prophet exercised his functions for one half only of the term of the prophet's public ministry who preceded him.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FOURTH.

The Events which followed on the Death of Mahomet.

[13*th* and 14*th of* 1 *Rabi*, A.H. XI. 8*th and* 9*th June*, 632, A.D.]

THE news of the Prophet's death spread rapidly over Medîna, and soon reached Abu Bakr in the suburb of Al Sunh. Immediately he mounted his horse, and rode back to the Mosque in haste.

The news of Mahomet's death reaches Abu Bakr.

Meanwhile, a strange scene was being enacted there. Shortly after Mahomet had breathed his last, Omar entered the apartment of Ayesha; and, lifting up the sheet which covered the body, gazed wistfully at the features of his departed master. All was so placid, so natural, so unlike death, that Omar could not believe the mournful truth. Starting up, he exclaimed, "The Prophet is not dead: he hath only swooned away." Mughîra, who was standing by, vainly endeavoured to convince him that he was mistaken. "Thou liest!" cried Omar, as, quitting the chamber of death, they entered the courts of the Mosque;—"the Apostle of God is not dead: it is thy seditious spirit which hath suggested this thine imagination. The Prophet of the Lord shall not die until

Omar wildly declaims in the Mosque that Mahomet had only swooned away.

he have rooted out every hypocrite and unbeliever." The crowd which, at the rumour of the Prôphet's death, rapidly gathered in the Mosque, was attracted by the loud and passionate tones of Omar, and flocked around him; he went on to harangue them in a similar strain. "The disaffected people would persuade you, O Believers! that Mahomet is really dead. Nay! but he hath gone to his Lord, even as Moses the son of Imrân, who remained absent forty days, and then returned after his followers had said that he was dead. So, verily, by the Lord! the Prophet shall return, and of a certainty shall cut off the hands and feet of those who dare to say that he is dead." Omar found a willing audience. It was but a little while before that Mahomet had been in the midst of them, at their head had joined in the public prayers on that very spot, and gladdened their hearts by the hope of his speedy convalescence. The echo of his voice had hardly yet died away from the courts of the Mosque. Sudden alternations of hope and despair tend to disturb the equilibrium of the mind, and unfit it for the exercise of a calm and dispassionate judgment. The events of the day had been pre-eminently of the kind calculated to produce this effect upon the people, who, now carried away by the fervour of Omar, gladly persuaded themselves that he might be in the right.

Abu Bakr visits the scene of death;

Just then appeared Abu Bakr. Passing through the Mosque, he listened for a moment to the frenzied words of Omar, and without pausing further,

walked onwards to the door of Ayesha's room. Drawing the curtain softly aside, he asked leave to enter. "Come," they replied from within, "for this day, no permission needeth to be asked." Then he entered, and raising the striped sheet which covered the bed, stooped down and kissed the face of his departed friend, saying: "Sweet thou wert in life, and sweet art thou in death." After a moment, he took the head between his hands, and slightly lifting it, gazed on the well-known features, now fixed in death, and exclaimed,—"Yes, thou *art* dead! Alas, my friend, my chosen one! Dearer than father or mother to me! Thou hast tasted the bitter pains of death; and thou art too precious in the sight of the Lord, that he should give thee this cup a second time to drink!" Gently putting down the head upon its pillow, he stooped again and kissed the face; then replaced the covering on the body, and withdrew.

and coming forth, convinces Omar and the people that Mahomet is really dead.

Having left the room of Ayesha, Abu Bakr proceeded at once to the spot where Omar, in the same excited state as before, was haranguing the people. "Silence!" cried Abu Bakr, as he drew near. "Omar! sit thee down; be quiet!" but Omar went on, not heeding the remonstrance. So Abu Bakr, turning from him, began himself to address the assembly; no sooner did they hear his voice open with the customary exordium, than they all quitted Omar, and gave attention to the words of Abu Bakr, who proceeded thus: "Hath not the Almighty revealed

this verse unto his Prophet saying,—'*Verily thou shalt die, and they shall die?*' And again, after the battle of Ohod,—'*Mahomet is no more than an Apostle; verily the other Apostles have deceased before him. What then! If he were to die, or to be killed, would ye turn back on your heels?*'* Let him then know, whosoever worshipeth Mahomet, that Mahomet indeed is dead: but whoso worshipeth God, let him know that the Lord liveth and doth not die." The words of the Coran fell like a knell on the ears of Omar and all those who with him had buoyed themselves up with the delusive hope of Mahomet's return to life. The quiet and reflecting mind of Abu Bakr had no doubt frequently recalled these passages during the Prophet's illness. To the people in general they had not occurred, at least in connection with the present scene. When they heard them now repeated, "it was as if they had not known till that moment that such a passage existed in the Coran;" and, the truth now bursting upon them, they sobbed aloud. Omar himself would relate,—"By the Lord! it was so that when I heard Abu Bakr reciting those verses, I was horror-struck, my limbs trembled, I dropped down, and I knew of a certainty that Mahomet indeed was dead." †

* *Sura*, xxxix. 30; iii. 144.

† I have, on a previous occasion, expressed a strong dissent from the opinion of Dr. Weil, that these verses were extemporized by Abu Bakr for the occasion. *Introduction*, ch. i. p. xx.,

The army at Jorf breaks up and returns to Medîna.

The greater part of the army, when the Prophet died, was at Jorf, three miles distant from Medîna. Encouraged by his seeming convalescence that morning in the Mosque, they had rejoined their camp. Osâma, mindful of his master's strict injunction, had given the order for immediate march, and his foot was already in the stirrup, when a swift messenger from his mother Omm Ayman announced the Prophet's death. The army, stunned by the intelligence, immediately broke up, and returned to Medîna. Osâma, preceded by the standard-bearer, went direct to the Mosque, and planted the great banner at the door of Ayesha's house.

Abu Bakr chosen as the *Caliph*, or successor of Mahomet.

It was now towards the afternoon when a friend came running hastily to Abu Bakr and Omar with the tidings that the chief men of Medîna, with Sâd ibn Obâda at their head, had assembled in one of the halls of the city,* and were proceeding to choose Sâd for their leader:—"If ye, therefore," he said,

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note. The sudden revulsion of the people's sentiment, on Abu Bakr's reciting the verses, shews the power they contained; and their power was solely due to *their being at once recognized as a part of the Coran.* It is perhaps hardly necessary to remark that neither Omar nor the people pretended to believe that Mahomet was immortal or not liable to death. They only hoped that his death would be long postponed. The verses quoted by Abu Bakr shewed, on the contrary, that nothing out of the common course of nature was to be expected, and that the apparent symptoms of death were therefore real.

* It was called the "*Sackîfa* of the Bani Saida." Sackîfa signifies a thatched or covered place, where the tribe and their friends met together for discussion and friendly intercourse.

"desire to have the command, come quickly thither before the matter is settled, and opposition become dangerous." Immediately on the receipt of this report, Abu Bakr, after giving strict command that the family and near relatives of the Prophet should be left undisturbed while they washed the corpse and laid it out, hurried, in company with Omar and Abu Obeida, to the hall where the people had assembled. There was urgent necessity for their presence. The men of Medîna were brooding over their supercession by the once dependent strangers whom they had received as refugees from Mecca:—"Let them have their own chief," was the general cry; "but as for us, we shall have a chief for ourselves." Sád, who lay sick and covered over in a corner of the hall, had already been proposed for the chiefship of the Medîna citizens, when suddenly Abu Bakr and his party entered. Omar, still in a state of excitement, was on the point of giving vent to his feelings in a speech which he had prepared, when Abu Bakr, afraid of his rashness and impetuosity, held him back, and himself addressed the people. Omar used in after days to say that Abu Bakr anticipated all his arguments, and expressed them in language the most eloquent and persuasive. "Ye men of Medîna!" he said, "all that ye speak of your own excellence is true. There is no people upon earth deserving such praise more than ye do. But the Arabs will not recognize the chief command elsewhere than in our tribe of the Coreish. We are

the *Ameers;* ye are our *Wazeers.*"* "Not so," shouted the indignant citizens, "but there shall be an Ameer from amongst us, and an Ameer from amongst you." "That can never be," said Abu Bakr, and he repeated in a firm, commanding voice, "*We* are the Ameers; *you* are our Wazeers. We are the noblest of the Arabs by descent; and the foremost in the glory of our city. There! Choose ye whom ye will of these two (pointing to Omar and Abu Obeida), and do allegiance to him."† "Nay!" cried Omar, in words which rose high and clear above the growing tumult of the assembly; "did not the Prophet himself command that *thou*, O Abu Bakr, shouldst lead the prayers? Thou art our master, and to thee we pledge our allegiance,—thou whom the Prophet loved the best amongst us all!"‡ and so saying he seized the hand of Abu Bakr, and striking it pledged faith to him. The words of Omar, touching as they did chords which vibrated in every believer's heart, and his example, had the desired effect; the opposition died away, and Abu Bakr was saluted as the *Caliph*, or successor of the departed Prophet.§

* *Ameer*, Chief, or Leader. *Wazeer*, or *Vizier*, Deputy, Councillor.

† There was nothing in the antecedents of Abu Obeida to sustain a claim to the Caliphate. He was simply named by Abu Bakr as being the only other Coreishite present. He subsequently bore a conspicuous part in the conquest of Syria.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 146.

§ *K. Wâckidi*, 155½; *Hishâmi*, 463. The tale of Ali being threatened that his house would be burned over his head because

The body of Mahomet is washed and laid out.

Meanwhile Ali, Osâma, and Fadhl the son of Abbâs, with one or two of the Prophet's servants, had been busily employed in the room of Ayesha. There on the spot on which he died they washed the body of Mahomet and laid it out.* The garment in which he died was left upon him: two sheets of fine white cloth were wound around it; and above all was cast a covering of striped Yemen stuff. Thus the body remained during the night, and until the time of burial.

Allegiance publicly sworn to Abu Bakr. Tuesday, 14th I. Rabî. 9th June.

On the morrow, when the people had assembled in the Mosque, Abu Bakr and Omar came forth to meet them. Omar first addressed the great assem-

he declined to acknowledge Abu Bakr, is given in a marginal gloss in the MS. of K. Wâckidi. The tradition does not appear genuine.

* As usual, when the name of Ali is introduced, tradition is overspread with fiction. A heavenly voice was heard ordering the attendants not to make bare the Prophet's body, for the eyes of any one that looked upon his nakedness would forthwith be destroyed. When Ali raised the limbs, they yielded to his touch, as if unseen hands were aiding him; another, assaying to do the same, found the weight unsupportable. Thus also Fadhl, who had ventured on the task, was well nigh dragged down, and called out for help: "Haste thee, Ali! Hold, for my back is breaking with the weight of this limb."

Abbâs himself would not enter the room at the time, "because Mahomet had desired him always to be hid from him while he bathed."

Besides the three named in the text (who, as the nearest and most intimate relatives, naturally superintended the washing of the body), one of the Medîna citizens, Aws ibn al Khawla, was admitted by Ali into the room. Another son of Abbâs (Ackil or Cutham) is named by some authorities as having been present. The servants were Shakrân and Sâlih. *K. Wâckidi*, 157.

blage :—"O ye people! that which I spoke unto you yesterday was not the truth. Verily, I find that it is not borne out by the Book which the Lord hath revealed, nor by the covenant we made with his Apostle. As for me, verily I hoped that the Apostle of the Lord would continue yet a while amongst us, and speak in our ears a word such as might seem good unto him and be a perpetual guide unto us. But the Lord hath chosen for his Apostle the portion which is with himself, in preference to that which is with you. And truly the inspired word which directed your Prophet is with us still. Take it, therefore, for your guide, and ye shall never go astray. And now, verily, hath the Lord placed the administration of your affairs in the hands of him that is the best amongst us; the companion of his Prophet, the sole companion, *the Second of the two when they were in the cave alone.** Arise! Swear fealty to him!" Then the people crowded round, and one by one they swore allegiance upon the hand of Abu Bakr.† Speech of Omar.

The ceremony being ended, Abu Bakr arose and said :—"Ye people! now, verily, I have become the chief over you,—although I am not the best amongst you. If I do well, support me; if I err, then set me right. In sincerity is faithfulness, and in falsehood perfidy. The weak and oppressed among you in my sight shall be strong, until I restore his Speech of Abu Bakr on his inauguration.

* *Sura*, ix. 42; see also above, vol. ii. ch. vi. p. 256.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 156; *Hishâmi*, 464.

right unto him, if the Lord will: and the strong oppressor among you shall be weak until I wrest from him that which he hath usurped. Now hearken to me; when a people leaveth off to fight in the ways of the Lord, he casteth them away in disgrace. Know also that wickedness never aboundeth in any nation, but the Lord visiteth it with calamity. Wherefore, obey ye me, even as I shall obey the Lord and his Apostle: Whensoever I disobey them, obedience is no longer obligatory upon you. Arise to prayers! and the Lord have mercy on you!"*

Discontent of Ali and Fâtima.

The homage done to Abu Bakr was almost universal. Sâd ibn Obâda, deeply chagrined at being superseded, is said by some to have remained altogether aloof.† It is probable that Ali, while the people were swearing allegiance, remained in his own apartments, or in the chamber of death. It is alleged by his adherents, that he expected the Caliphate for himself; but there was nothing in his previous position, nor in the language and actions of the Prophet towards him, which should have led to this anticipation. It is possible, indeed, that as the husband of Mahomet's only surviving daughter, he may have conceived that a claim existed by

* *Hishâmi*, 465. This speech is not given by the Secretary. The words may be partly apocryphal; but there is little doubt that Abu Bakr delivered himself something to this effect.

† It is even said that he retired in disgust to Syria, where he died. Tabari, on the other hand, relates that he submitted to Abu Bakr, and acknowledged his authority.

inheritance. Whatever his expectations were, it is certain that he considered himself aggrieved when Abu Bakr denied the title of his wife to the Prophet's share in the lands of Fadak and of Kheibar. Fâtima failed in producing any evidence of her father's intention to bestow this property on her, and the Caliph justly held that it ought to be reserved for those purposes of state to which Mahomet in his lifetime had devoted it.

Fâtima renounces the society of Abu Bakr.

Fâtima took this denial so much to heart that she held no intercourse with Abu Bakr during the short remainder of her life. It was probably she who stirred up Ali and his friends to form a hostile faction, the result of which was in after days disastrous to the interests of Islam. Whether Ali swore allegiance at the first to his new chief, or refused to do so, it was certainly not till Fâtima's death, six months after that of her father, that Ali recognized with any cordiality the title of Abu Bakr to the Caliphate.*

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* Some traditions say that he swore allegiance at the first, with the rest; others, that he refused to do so till after Fâtima's death.

The traditions of Fâtima's deep grief at the loss of her father, and of her joy at his prophecy that she would soon rejoin him in heaven, &c., ill accord with the sordid manner in which she urged her claim to the property. "On the day after her father's death," we learn from Wâckidi, "Fâtima repaired with Ali to Abu Bakr, and said,—'Give me the inheritance of my father the Prophet.' Abu Bakr inquired whether she meant his household goods or his landed estates. '*Fadak* and *Kheibar*,' she replied, 'and the tithe lands at Medîna,—my inheritance therein, even as thy daughters will inherit of thee when thou diest.' Abu Bakr re-

plied:—'Verily, thy father was better than I am; and thou art better than my daughters are. But the Prophet hath said, *No one shall be my heir; that which I leave shall be for alms.* Now, therefore, the family of Mahomet shall not eat of that property; for, by the Lord, I will not alter a tittle of that which the Prophet ordained; all shall remain as it was in his life-time. But,' continued he, 'if thou art certain that thy father gave thee this property, I will accept thy word, and fulfil thy father's direction.' She replied that she had no evidence excepting that of Omm Ayman, who had told her that her father had given her Fadak. Abu Bakr, therefore, maintained his decision." *K. Wâckidi*, 164½.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FIFTH.

The Burial of Mahomet.

WHEN Abu Bakr had ended his speech, preparations were made for the burial of the Prophet. The people differed regarding the place most fitting for his grave. Some urged that the body should be buried in the Mosque close by the pulpit; and some, beneath the spot where as Imâm he had so long led the daily prayers; while others wished to inter him beside his followers in the grave-yard of Backî al Gharcad. Abu Bakr, with whom as Caliph the matter now rested, approved none of these proposals: for, said he, "I have heard it from the lips of Mahomet himself, that in whatsoever spot a Prophet dieth, there also should he be buried." He therefore gave command that the grave should be dug where the body was still lying within the house of Ayesha.

Grave prepared in Ayesha's house. Tuesday, 14th, 1 Rabi, 9th June.

Another question arose as to the form in which the tomb should be prepared. Two fashions prevailed in Arabia: in one kind, the bottom or pavement of the grave was flat;* in the other, the bottom was partly excavated for the reception of

It was dug in the vaulted fashion.

* This species of grave was called *Shackk*.

the body, a ledge being left on one side of the vault or cavity.* The former was the plan followed at Mecca, the latter at Medîna; and for each there was a separate grave-digger. Both were now summoned. The man of Medîna first appearing, dug the grave in the vaulted form; and so this fashion is followed by all Mahometans to the present day.

The body is visited by the people. Oration of Abu Bakr and Omar.

The body of Mahomet remained upon the bier for about four-and-twenty hours, namely, from the afternoon or the evening of Monday to the same hour on the following day. On Tuesday, it was visited by all the inhabitants of the city. They entered in companies by the door of the apartment which opened into the Mosque; and, after gazing once more at the countenance of their Prophet and praying over his remains, retired by the opposite entrance. The room was crowded to the utmost at the time when Abu Bakr and Omar entered together. They prayed as follows:—"Peace be upon thee, O Prophet of God; and the mercy of the Lord, and his blessing! We bear testimony that the Prophet of God hath delivered the message revealed to him; hath fought in the ways of the Lord until that God brought forth his religion crowned with victory; hath fulfilled his words, commanding that he alone is to be worshiped in his Unity; hath drawn us to himself, and been kind and tender-hearted to believers; hath sought

* Called *Lahd.*

no recompence for delivering to us the Faith, neither hath he sold it for a price at any time!" And all the people said, *Amen! Amen!*" The women followed in companies, when the men had departed; and then even the children crowded round the bier for a last look at their Prophet's face.

In the evening the final rites were paid to the remains of Mahomet. A red mantle, worn by him, was first spread as a soft covering at the bottom of the grave; then the body was lowered into its last resting-place by the same near relatives who had washed and laid it out. The vault was built over with unbaken bricks, and the grave filled up.* Burial.

Ayesha continued as before to live in her house thus honoured as the Prophet's cemetery. She Ayesha continued to occupy an

* There was a wonderful rivalry, at least among the traditionists, as to which person was the last to leave the interior of the tomb. Mughîra asserts that, having dropped his ring into the grave, he was allowed to go down and pick it up, and thus was the last. Others hold that Ali sent down his son Hasan to fetch the ring. Others, that Ali denied the story of the ring altogether. Some allege that one or other of the sons of Abbâs was "the first to enter, and the last to leave the grave." *K. Wâckidi*, 162. These variations form a good example of the Alyite and Abbasside influences.

I must not omit a tradition which seems to me to illustrate the scepticism of Omar regarding the Prophet's death. Omm Salma, one of his wives, says,—"I did not really believe that Mahomet was dead, till I heard the sound of the pickaxes at the digging of the grave, from the next room." Ayesha also says that the sound of the pickaxes was the first intimation she had of the approaching interment. She had apparently retired, with the other wives, into an adjoining apartment. *K. Wâckidi*, 162½.

apartment next the grave.

occupied a room adjoining that which contained the grave, but partitioned off from it. When her father died, he was buried close by the Prophet in the same apartment, and in due time Omar also. It is related of Ayesha that she used to visit the room containing the graves of the Prophet and her father, unveiled; but after the burial of Omar there (as if a stranger had been introduced), she never entered that room unless veiled and fully dressed.*

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* Ayesha tells us, she once dreamt that three moons fell from the heavens into her bosom, which she hoped portended the birth of an heir. After her husband's death, Abu Bakr told her that the grave of Mahomet in her house was the first and best of the moons. The other two were the graves of Abu Bakr himself and of Omar.

Wâckidi tells us that there was no wall at first round Mahomet's house. Omar surrounded it with a low wall, which Abdallah ibn Zobeir increased. *K. Wâckidi*, 160½.

CHAPTER THIRTY-SIXTH.

Campaign of Osâma on the Syrian Border. Concluding Observations.

Campaign of Osâma. 1 and 2 Rabî, A.H. XI. May, June, A.D. 632.

THE first concern of Abu Bakr, on assuming the Caliphate, was to despatch the Syrian army, and thus fulfil the dying wish of Mahomet. But the horizon all around was lowering; and many urged that the Moslem force should not be sent upon this distant expedition. Even Omar joined in the cry,—"Scatter not the believers; rather keep our soldiers here together: we may yet have need of them to defend the city." "Never!" replied Abu Bakr;—"the command of the Prophet shall be carried out, even if I be left here in the city all alone, a prey to the wolves and beasts of the desert." Then they besought that a more experienced soldier might be appointed to the chief command. Abu Bakr arose in wrath:—"Out upon thee!" he cried, as he seized Omar by the beard;—"hath the Prophet of the Lord named Osâma to the leadership, and dost thou counsel me to take it from him!" The Caliph would admit of no excuse and no delay; the force was soon marshalled again at Jorf. Abu Bakr repaired to the camp, and treating Osâma with the profound respect due to a commander appointed by

Mahomet himself, begged permission that Omar might be left behind at Medîna as his counsellor. The request was granted. Abu Bakr then, bidding Osâma farewell, exhorted him to go forward in the name of the Lord, and fulfil the commission he had received at the Prophet's hands. The army marched; and the Caliph, with Omar alone, returned to Medîna.*

His triumphant return to Medina.

Within twenty days of his departure from Jorf, Osâma had overrun the province of Belcâa. In fire and blood, he avenged his father's death and the disastrous field of Mûta. "They ravaged the land," says the historian, "with the well-known cry of *Yâ Mansur Amit* ('Strike, ye conquerors!') † they slew all who ventured to oppose them in the field, and carried off captive the remainder. They

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* *Tabari* (*Kosegarten*), pp. 42, 51; *K. Wâckidi*, 138. The period at which the expedition started is given by the Secretary as the beginning of the 2nd Rabî, that is, more than a fortnight after the Prophet's burial. The narrative given by Tabari would lead to the supposition that Osâma marched earlier; since Abu Bakr is represented as ordering the fulfilment of Mahomet's commands regarding the campaign a day or two after his death. On the other hand, the general anxiety to keep the troops back, in consequence of the threatened rising of the Arabs, makes it probable that some little time had elapsed.

According to the Secretary, *it was Abu Bakr* who desired to keep back the troops from their march, in consequence of the rebellion of the Arabs; and it was Osâma who insisted on an immediate march, in pursuance of the command of Mahomet. *K. Wâckidi*, 139. But the traditions on the subject in Tabari seem stronger, and I have followed them.

† For this battle-cry, see vol. iii. p. 105.

burned the villages, the fields of standing corn, and the groves of palm trees: and there went up behind them, as it were, a whirlwind of fire and smoke." * Having thus fulfilled the Prophet's last command, they retraced their steps. It was a triumphal procession as they approached Medîna; Osâma rode upon his father's horse, and the banner, bound so lately by Mahomet's own hand, floated before him. Abu Bakr and the citizens went forth to meet him, and received the army with acclamations of joy. Attended by the Caliph, and the chief companions of the Prophet, Osâma proceeded to the Mosque, and offered up prayer with thanksgiving for the success which had so richly crowned his arms.†

The rapid spread of Mussulman conquest.

With the return of Osâma's army to Medîna a new era opens upon us. The Prophet had hardly departed this life when Arabia was convulsed by the violent endeavour of its tribes to shake off

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* *K. Wâckidi*, 139. The Secretary represents Osâma as killing in battle the very man that slew his father.

† The tidings of this bloody expedition alarmed Heraclius, and he sent a strong force into Belcâa. The attention of Abu Bakr had first to be directed nearer home. Reinforced by the army of Osâma, he had to quell the fierce spirit of insurrection rising all around. But a year had not elapsed, when he was again in a position to take the field in Syria, and to enter on the career of conquest which quickly wrested that fair province from Christendom.

the trammels of Islam, and regain their previous freedom. The hordes of the desert rose up in rebellion, and during the first year of his Caliphate Abu Bakr had to struggle for the very existence of the faith. Step by step the wild Bedouins were subdued, and forced to tender their submission. By a master stroke of policy, they were induced again to take up their arms, and aroused, by the prospect of boundless spoil, to wield them on the side of Islam. Like blood-hounds eager for the chase, the Arabs were let forth upon mankind,—the whole world their prey. They gloried in the belief that they were the hosts of God, destined for the conversion of his elect,—for the destruction of his enemies. The pretexts of religion thus disguised and gilded every baser motive. The vast plunder of Syria was accepted as but the earnest of a greater destiny yet in store. Once maddened by the taste of blood into a wild and irresistible fanaticism, the armies of Arabia swept their enemies everywhere before them. Checked towards the north by the strongholds of the Bosphorus, the surging wave spread to the east and to the west with incredible rapidity, till in a few short years it had engulphed in a common ruin the earliest seats of Christianity, and the faith of Zoroaster.

Simplicity and earnestness of primitive Moslems after Mahomet's death, an

But this is a province of history upon which it is not my object to enter. In some respects, indeed, it might be connected indirectly with the subject of these volumes. The simplicity and earnestness of

the early caliphs, and the first burst of zeal and devotion exhibited by his followers after the Prophet's death, are strong evidence of their belief in his sincerity: and the belief of these men must carry undeniable weight in the formation of our own estimate of his sincerity, since the opportunities they enjoyed for testing the grounds of their convictions were both close and long continued. It is enough, that I here barely allude to this consideration, as strengthening generally the view of Mahomet's character, which in these volumes I have endeavoured to support.

argument in favour of his sincerity.

CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVENTH.

The Person and Character of Mahomet.

General review of Mahomet's character.

It may be expected that before bringing this work to a close, I should gather into one review the chief traits in the character of Mahomet, which at different stages of his life, and from various points of view, have in the course of the history been presented to the reader. This I will now briefly attempt.

Personal appearance.

The person of Mahomet, as he appeared in the prime of life, has been pourtrayed in an early chapter;* and though advancing age may have somewhat relaxed the outlines of his countenance and affected the vigour of his carriage, yet the general aspect there described remained unaltered to the end. His form, although little above the ordinary height, was stately and commanding. The depth of feeling in his dark black eye, and the winning expression of a face otherwise attractive, gained the confidence and love even of a stranger. His features often unbended into a smile full of grace and condescension. "He was," says an admiring follower, "the handsomest and bravest, the brightest-faced and most generous of men. It was

* Vol. ii. p. 28.

as though the sun-light beamed in his countenance." Yet when anger kindled in his piercing glance, the object of his displeasure might well quail before it: his stern frown was the certain augury of death to many a trembling captive.*

His gait.

In the later years of his life, the formerly erect figure of Mahomet began to stoop. But his step was still firm and quick. His gait has been likened to that of one descending rapidly a hill. When he made haste, it was with difficulty that his followers kept pace with him. He never turned round, even if his mantle caught in a thorny bush, so that his attendants might talk and laugh freely behind him, secure of being unobserved.

His habits thorough.

Thorough and complete in all his actions, he never took in hand any work without bringing it to a close. The same habit pervaded his manner in social intercourse. If he turned in conversation towards a friend, he turned not partially, but with his full face and his whole body. "In shaking hands, he was not the first to withdraw his own; nor was he the first to break off in converse with a stranger, nor to turn away his ear."

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* Nearly all the illustrations of character in this chapter are drawn from the Section of his work devoted by the Secretary to the appearance and habits of the Prophet. I will not therefore crowd my pages with references. Some of the anecdotes narrated in that Section may prove of interest to the curious reader, and I have therefore placed the most remarkable of them in a Supplement at the close of this chapter.

Simplicity of his life.

A patriarchal simplicity pervaded his life. His custom was to do every thing for himself. If he gave an alms he would place it with his own hand in that of the petitioner. He aided his wives in their household duties; he mended his own clothes; he tied up the goats; he even cobbled his sandals. His ordinary dress consisted of plain white cotton stuff; but on high and festive occasions, he wore garments of fine linen, striped or dyed in red. He never reclined at meals. He ate with his fingers; and when he had finished, he would lick them before he wiped his hands. The indulgences to which he was most addicted were "Women, scents, and food." In the first two of these, Ayesha tells us, he had his heart's desire; but when she adds that he was straitened in the third, we can only attribute the saying to the vivid contrast between the frugal habits prevalent at the rise of Islam, and the luxurious living which rapidly followed in the wake of conquest and prosperity. Mahomet, with his wives, lived in a row of low and homely cottages built of unbaked bricks; the apartments were separated by walls of palm branches rudely daubed with mud; curtains of leather, or of black hair-cloth, supplied the place of doors and windows. His abode was to all easy of access,—"even as the river's bank to him that draweth water therefrom." Yet we have seen that he maintained the state and dignity of real power. No approach was suffered to familiarity of

action or of speech. The Prophet must be addressed in subdued accents and in a reverential style. His word was absolute. His bidding was law.

A remarkable feature was the urbanity and consideration with which Mahomet treated even the most insignificant of his followers. Modesty and kindness, patience, self-denial, and generosity, pervaded his conduct, and rivetted the affections of all around him. He disliked to say *No;* if unable to reply to a petitioner in the affirmative, he preferred to remain silent. "He was more bashful," says Ayesha, "than a veiled virgin; and if anything displeased him, it was rather from his face, than by his words, that we discovered it; he never smote any one but in the service of the Lord, not even a woman or a servant." He was not known ever to refuse an invitation to the house even of the meanest, nor to decline a proffered present however small. When seated by a friend, "he did not haughtily advance his knees towards him." He possessed the rare faculty of making each individual in a company think that *he* was the most favoured guest. When he met any one rejoicing, he would seize him eagerly and cordially by the hand. With the bereaved and afflicted *he* sympathized tenderly. Gentle and unbending towards little children, he would not disdain to accost a group of them at play with the salutation of peace. He shared his food, even in times of scarcity, with others; and was sedulously solicitous for the personal comfort of every one about him. A

Urbanity and kindness of disposition.

kindly and benevolent disposition pervades all these illustrations of his character.

Friendship.

Mahomet was also a faithful friend. He loved Abu Bakr with the romantic affection of a brother; Ali, with the fond partiality of a father. Zeid, the the Christian slave of Khadîja, was so strongly attached by the kindness of Mahomet, who adopted him, that he preferred to remain at Mecca rather than return to his home with his own father: "I will not leave thee," said he, clinging to his patron, "for thou hast been a father and a mother to me." The friendship of Mahomet survived the death of Zeid, whose son, Osâma, was treated by him with distinguished favour for his father's sake. Othmân and Omar were also the objects of a special attachment; and the enthusiasm with which the Prophet, at Hodeibia, entered into "the Pledge of the Tree" and swore that he would defend his beleaguered son-in-law with his last breath, was a signal proof of faithful friendship. Numerous other instances of Mahomet's ardent and unwavering regard might be adduced. And his affections were in no instance misplaced; they were ever reciprocated by a warm and self-sacrificing love.

Moderation and magnanimity.

In the exercise at home of a power absolutely dictatorial, Mahomet was just and temperate. Nor was he wanting in moderation towards his enemies, when once they had cheerfully submitted to his claims. The long and obstinate struggle against his pretensions maintained by the inhabitants of his

native city, might have induced a haughty tyrant to mark his indignation in indelible traces of fire and blood. But Mahomet, excepting a few criminals, granted an universal pardon; and, nobly casting into oblivion the memory of the past, with all its mockings, its affronts, and persecutions, he treated even the foremost of his opponents with a gracious and even friendly consideration. Not less marked was the forbearance shewn to Abdallah and the disaffected party at Medîna, who for so many years persistently thwarted his schemes and resisted his authority; nor the clemency with which he received the submissive advances of the most hostile tribes, even in the hour of victory.

Cruelty towards his enemies.

But the darker shades of character, as well as the brighter, must be depicted by a faithful historian. Magnanimity or moderation are nowhere discernible as features in the conduct of Mahomet towards such of his enemies as failed to tender a timely allegiance. Over the bodies of the Coreish who fell at Badr, he exulted with savage satisfaction; and several prisoners,—accused of no crime but that of scepticism and political opposition,—were deliberately executed at his command. The Prince of Kheibar, after being subjected to inhuman torture for the purpose of discovering the treasures of his tribe, was, with his cousin, put to death on the pretext of having treacherously concealed them: and his wife was led away captive to the tent of the conqueror. Sentence of exile was enforced by

Mahomet with rigorous severity on two whole Jewish tribes at Medîna; and of a third, likewise his neighbours, the women and children were sold into distant captivity, while the men, amounting to several hundreds, were butchered in cold blood before his eyes.

Craftiness and perfidy.

In his youth Mahomet earned amongst his fellows the honourable title of "the Faithful." But in later years however much sincerity and good faith may have guided his conduct in respect of his friends, craft and deception were certainly not wanting towards his foes. The perfidious attack at Nakhla, where the first blood in the internecine war with the Coreish was shed, although at first disavowed by Mahomet for its scandalous breach of the sacred usages of Arabia, was eventually justified by a pretended revelation. Abu Basîr, the freebooter, was countenanced by the prophet in a manner scarcely consistent with the letter, and certainly opposed to the spirit, of the truce of Hodeibia. The surprise which secured the easy conquest of Mecca, was designed with craftiness if not with duplicity. The pretext on which the Bani Nadhîr were besieged and expatriated (namely, that Gabriel had revealed their design against the prophet's life,) was feeble and unworthy of an honest cause. When Medîna was beleagured by the confederate army, Mahomet sought the services of Nueim, a traitor, and employed him to sow distrust among the enemy by false and treacherous reports; "for," said he, "what else is War but a

game at deception?" In his prophetical career, political and personal ends were frequently compassed by the flagrant pretence of *Divine* revelations, which a candid examination would have shewn him to be nothing more than the counterpart of his own wishes. The Jewish and Christian systems, at first adopted honestly as the basis of his own religion, had no sooner served the purpose of establishing a firm authority, than they were ignored if not disowned. And what is perhaps worst of all, the dastardly assassination of political and religious opponents, countenanced and frequently directed as they were in all their cruel and perfidious details by Mahomet himself, leaves a dark and indelible blot upon his character.

Domestic life; polygamy.

In domestic life the conduct of Mahomet, with one grave exception, was exemplary. As a husband his fondness and devotion were entire, bordering, however, at times, upon jealousy. As a father he was loving and tender. In his youth he is said to have lived a virtuous life. At the age of twenty five he married a widow forty years old; and for five-and-twenty years he was a faithful husband to her alone. Yet it is remarkable that during this period were composed most of those passages of the Coran in which the black-eyed Houris, reserved for believers in Paradise, are depicted in such glowing colours. Shortly after the death of Khadîja, the Prophet married again; but it was not till the

mature age of fifty-four that he made the dangerous trial of polygamy, by taking Ayesha, yet a child, as the rival of Sauda. Once the natural limits of restraint were overpassed, Mahomet fell an easy prey to his strong passion for the sex. In his fifty-sixth year he married Haphsa; and the following year, in two succeeding months, Zeinab bint Khozeima, and Omm Salma. But his desires were not to be satisfied by the range of a harem already greater than was permitted to any of his followers; rather, as age advanced, they were stimulated to seek for new and varied indulgence. A few months after his nuptials with Zeinab and Omm Salma, the charms of a second Zeinab were by accident discovered too fully before the Prophet's admiring gaze. She was the wife of Zeid, his adopted son and bosom friend; but he was unable to smother the flame she had kindled in his breast; and, by *divine* command she was taken to his bed. In the same year he married a seventh wife, and also a concubine. And at last, when he was full threescore years of age, no fewer than three new wives, besides Mary the Coptic slave, were within the space of seven months added to his already well filled harem. The bare recital of these facts may justify the saying of Ibn Abbâs,—"Verily the chiefest among the Moslems (meaning Mahomet) was the foremost of them in his passion for women;"*—

* ان خير هذا الامة كان اشرها نساء *K. Wâckidi*, p. 72.

a fatal example imitated too readily by his followers, who adopt the Prince of Medîna, rather than the Prophet of Mecca, for their pattern.

Thus the social and domestic life of Mahomet, fairly and impartially viewed, is seen to be chequered by light and shade. While there is much to form the subject of nearly unqualified praise, there is likewise much which cannot be spoken of but in terms of severe reprobation.

Conviction of a special providence.

Proceeding now to consider the religious and prophetical character of Mahomet, the first point which strikes the biographer, is his constant and vivid sense of an all pervading special providence. This conviction moulded his thoughts and designs, from the minutest actions in private and social life to the grand conception that he was destined to be the Reformer of his people and of the whole world. He never entered a company "but he sat down and rose up with the mention of the Lord." When the first fruits of the season were brought to him, he would kiss them, place them upon his eyes and say, —"Lord as thou hast shown us the first, show unto us likewise the last." In trouble and affliction, as well as in joy and prosperity, he ever saw and humbly acknowledged the hand of God. A fixed persuasion that every incident, small and great, was ordered by the divine will, led to the strong expressions of predestination which abound in the Coran. It was the Lord who turned the hearts of mankind: and alike faith in the believer, and un-

belief in the infidel, were the result of the Divine fiat.. The hour and place of every man's death, as all other events in his life, were established by the same decree; and the timid believer might in vain seek to avert the stroke by shunning the field of battle. But this persuasion was far removed from the belief in a blind and inexorable fate; for Mahomet held the progress of events in the divine hand to be amenable to the influence of prayer. He was not slow to attribute the conversion of a scoffer like Omar, or the removal of an impending misfortune, as when Medîna was delivered from the confederated hosts, to the effect of his own earnest petitions to the Lord. On the other hand Mahomet was not altogether devoid of superstition. He feared to sit down in a dark place until a lamp had been lighted; and his apprehensions were sometimes raised by the wind and clouds. He would fetch prognostications from the manner in which a sword was drawn from its scabbard.* A special virtue was attributed to being cupped an even number of times, and on a certain day of the week and month. He was also guided by omens drawn from dreams: but these perhaps were regarded by him as intimations of the divine will.

Mahomet's conflict at Mecca; his unwavering stedfastness.

The growth in the mind of Mahomet of the conviction that he was appointed to be a Prophet and a Reformer, was intimately connected with his belief

* Campaigns of Mahomet, p. 217.

in a special providence, embracing as well as the spiritual the material world: and simultaneously with that conviction there arose an implicit confidence that the Almighty would crown his mission with success. The questionings and aspirations of his inner soul were regarded by him as proceeding directly from God; the light which gradually illuminated his mind with a knowledge of the divine unity and perfections, and of the duties and destiny of man,—light amidst gross darkness,—must have emanated from the same source; and he who in his own good pleasure had thus begun the work would surely carry it to an end. What was Mahomet himself but a simple instrument in the hand of the great Worker? It was this belief which strengthened him, alone and unsupported, to brave for many weary years the taunts and persecutions of a whole people. In estimating the signal moral courage thus displayed by him, it must not be overlooked that for what is ordinarily termed *physical courage* Mahomet was not remarkable. It may be doubted whether he ever engaged personally in active conflict on the battle field: though he accompanied his forces, he never himself led them into action, or exposed his person to unavoidable danger. And there were occasions on which (as when challenged by Abdallah to spare the Bani Cainucâa, alarmed by the altercation at the wells of Moraisî, or pressed by the mob at Jierrâna,) he showed symptoms of a

faint heart.* Yet even if this be admitted, it only brings out in higher relief the singular display of moral daring. Let us for a moment look back to the period when a ban was proclaimed at Mecca against all the citizens, whether professed converts or not, who espoused his cause; when they were shut up in the *Sheb* or quarter of Abu Tâlib, and there, for three years without prospect of relief, endured want and hardship. Those must have been stedfast and mighty motives which enabled him, amidst all this opposition and apparent hopelessness of success, to maintain his principles unshaken. No sooner was he released from confinement, than, despairing of his native city, he went forth to Tâyif and summoned its rulers and inhabitants to repentance; he was solitary and unaided, but he had a message, he said, from his Lord. On the third day he was driven out of the town with ignominy, blood trickling from the wounds inflicted on him by the populace. He retired to a little distance, and there poured forth his complaint to God: then he returned to Mecca, there to carry on the same outwardly hopeless cause, with the same high confidence in its ultimate success. We search in vain through the pages of profane history for a parallel to the struggle in which for thirteen years the Prophet of Arabia, in the face of discouragement and threats, rejection

* Vol. iii. pp. 136-238. Vol. iv. 146.

and persecution, retained his faith unwavering, preached repentance, and denounced God's wrath against his godless fellow citizens. Surrounded by a little band of faithful men and women, he met insults, menace, danger, with a high and patient trust in the future. And when at last the promise of safety came from a distant quarter, he calmly waited until his followers had all departed, and then disappeared from amongst his ungrateful and rebellious people.

And at Medina.

Not less marked was the firm front and unchanging faith in eventual victory, which at Medina bore him through seven years of mortal conflict with his native city; and enabled him while his influence and authority were yet very limited and precarious even in the city of his adoption, to speak and to act in the constant and undoubted expectation of entire success.

Denunciation of polytheism and idolatry.

From the earliest period of his religious convictions, the idea of ONE great Being who guides with almighty power and wisdom the whole creation, while yet remaining infinitely above it, gained a thorough possession of his mind. Polytheism and idolatry, being utterly at variance with this first principle of his belief, were condemned with abhorrence as levelling the Creator with the creature. On one occasion alone did Mahomet ever swerve from this position,—when he admitted that the goddesses of Mecca might be adored as a medium of approach to God. But the inconsistency of the admission was

soon perceived; and Mahomet at once retraced his steps. Never before nor afterwards did the Prophet deviate from the stern denunciation of idolatry.

Earnestness and honesty of Mahomet at Mecca.

As he was himself the subject of convictions so deep and powerful, it will readily be conceived that the exhortations of Mahomet were distinguished by a corresponding strength and urgency. Being also a master in eloquence, his language was cast in the purest and most persuasive style of Arabian oratory. His fine poetical genius exhausted the imagery of nature in the illustration of spiritual truths; and a vivid imagination enabled him to bring before his auditory the Resurrection and the Day of Judgment, the joys of believers in Paradise, and the agonies of lost spirits in hell, as close and impending realities. In ordinary address, his speech was slow, distinct, and emphatic; but when he preached, "his eye would redden, his voice rise high and loud, and his whole frame become agitated with passion, even as if he were warning the people of an enemy about to fall on them the next morning or that very night." In this thorough earnestness lay the secret of his success. And if these stirring appeals had been given forth as nothing more than what they really were,—the outgoings of a warm and active conviction, they would have afforded no ground for cavil; or, if you will, let him have represented his appeals as the teaching of a soul guided by natural inspiration, or even enlightened by divine influence,—such a course would still have been nothing more than that trod-

den by many a sincere, though it may be erring, philanthropist in other ages and in other lands. But in the development of his system, the claims of Mahomet to inspiration far transcended any one of these assumptions. His inspiration was essentially *oracular*. His mind and his lips were no more than a passive organ which received and transmitted the heavenly message. His revelations were not the fruit of a subjective process in which a soul, burning with divine life and truth, seeks to impress the stamp of its own convictions on all those around; the process, on the contrary, was one which Mahomet professed to be entirely external to himself, and independent of his own reasoning and will. The words of inspiration, whether purporting to be a portion of the Coran, or a message for general guidance, were produced as a real and objective intimation, conveyed in a distinct form by the Almighty, or through the angel Gabriel, his messenger. Such was the position assumed by Mahomet. How far it was fostered by epileptic and apparently supernatural paroxysms (which do not however come prominently to view at least in the later stages of his career) or by similar physiological phenomena, it is impossible to determine. We may readily admit, that at the first Mahomet did believe, or persuaded himself to believe, that his revelations were dictated by a divine agency. In the Meccan period of his life there certainly can be traced no personal ends or unworthy motives to

belie this conclusion. The Prophet was there, what he professed to be, "a simple Preacher and a Warner;" he was the despised and rejected teacher of a gainsaying people; and he had apparently no ulterior object but their reformation. Mahomet may have mistaken the right means for effecting this end, but there is no sufficient reason for doubting that he used those means in good faith and with an honest purpose.

At Medîna worldly motives mingle with his spiritual objects.

But the scene altogether changes at Medîna. There the acquisition of temporal power, aggrandisement, and self-glorification, mingled with the grand object of the Prophet's previous life; and they were sought after and attained by precisely the same instrumentality. Messages from heaven were freely brought forward to justify his political conduct, equally with his religious precepts. Battles were fought, wholesale executions inflicted, and territories annexed, under pretext of the Almighty's sanction. Nay, even baser actions were not only excused, but encouraged, by the pretended divine approval or command. A special license was produced, allowing Mahomet a double number of wives; the discreditable affair with Mary the Coptic slave was justified in a separate Sura; and the passion for the wife of his own adopted son and bosom friend, was the subject of an inspired message in which the Prophet's scruples were rebuked by God, a divorce permitted, and marriage with the object of his unhallowed desires enjoined! If we say that such

"revelations" were believed by Mahomet sincerely to bear the divine sanction, it can be but in a very modified and peculiar sense. He was not only responsible for that belief, but, in arriving at any such conviction, he must have done violence to his judgment and to the better principles of his nature.

Rapid moral declension: the natural consequences.

As the necessary result of this moral obliquity, we trace from the period of Mahomet's arrival at Medîna a marked and rapid declension in the system he inculcated. Intolerance quickly took the place of freedom; force, of persuasion. The spiritual weapons designed at first for higher objects were no sooner prostituted to the purposes of temporal authority, than temporal authority was employed to impart a fictitious weight and power to those spiritual weapons. The name of the Almighty, impiously borrowed, imparted a terrible strength to the sword of the State; and the sword of the State, in its turn, yielded a willing requital by destroying "the enemies of God," and sacrificing them at the shrine of a false religion. "Slay the unbelievers wheresoever ye find them;" was now the wachword of Islam:—"Fight in the ways of God until opposition be crushed and the Religion becometh the Lord's alone!" The warm and earnest devotion breathed by the Prophet and his followers at Mecca, soon became at Medîna dull and vapid; it degenerated into a fierce fanaticism, or evaporated in a lifeless round of cold and formal ceremonies. The Jewish faith,

whose pure fountains were freely accessible to Mahomet, as well as the less familiar system of Chistianity, in spite of former protestations of faith and allegiance, were both cast aside without hesitation and without inquiry; for the course on which he had entered was too profitable and too enticing to permit the exercise of any such nice research or close questioning as (perhaps he unconsciously felt) might have opened his eyes to the truth, and forced him either to retrace his steps, or to unveil himself before his own conscience in the fearful form of an impostor. To what other conclusion can we come than that he was delivered over to the judicial blindness of a self-deceived heart; that, having voluntarily shut his eyes against the light, he was left miserably to grope in the darkness of his own choosing.

Benefits of Mahometanism;

And what have been the effects of the system which, established by such instrumentality, Mahomet has left behind him? We may freely concede that it banished for ever many of the darker elements of superstition which had for ages shrouded the Peninsula. Idolatry vanished before the battle-cry of Islam; the doctrine of the unity and infinite perfections of God, and of a special all-pervading Providence, became a living principle in the hearts and lives of the followers of Mahomet, even as it had in his own. An absolute surrender and submission to the divine will (the very name of *Islam*) was demanded as the first requirement of the religion. Nor are social virtues wanting. Brotherly love is

inculcated within the circle of the faith; orphans are to be protected, and slaves treated with consideration; intoxicating drinks are prohibited, and Mahometanism may boast of a degree of temperance unknown to any other creed.

outweighed by its evils.

Yet these benefits have been purchased at a costly price. Setting aside considerations of minor import, three radical evils flow from the faith, in all ages and in every country, and must continue to flow *so long as the Coran is the standard of belief.* First: Polygamy, Divorce, and Slavery, are maintained and perpetuated;—striking as they do at the root of public morals, poisoning domestic life, and disorganizing society. Second: freedom of judgment in religion is crushed and annihilated. The sword is the inevitable penalty for the denial of Islam. Toleration is unknown. Third: a barrier has been interposed against the reception of Christianity. They labour under a miserable delusion who suppose that Mahometanism paves the way for a purer faith. No system could have been devised with more consummate skill for shutting out the nations over which it has sway, from the light of truth. *Idolatrous* Arabia (judging from the analogy of other nations) might have been aroused to spiritual life, and to the adoption of the faith of Jesus; *Mahometan* Arabia is, to the human eye, sealed against the benign influences of the Gospel. Many a flourishing land in Africa and in Asia which once rejoiced in the light and liberty of Christianity, is now overspread by

gross darkness and a stubborn barbarism. It is as if their day of grace had come and gone, and there remained to them "no more sacrifice for sins." That a brighter day will yet dawn on these countries we may not doubt; but the history of the past and the condition of the present is not the less true and sad. The sword of Mahomet, and the Coran, are the most fatal enemies of Civilization, Liberty, and Truth, which the world has yet known.

Inconsistencies run through the character of Mahomet,

In conclusion, I would warn the reader against seeking to pourtray in his mind a character in all its parts consistent with itself as the character of Mahomet. The truth is that the strangest inconsistencies blended together (according to the wont of human nature) throughout the life of the Prophet. The student of the history will trace for himself how the pure and lofty aspirations of Mahomet were first tinged, and then gradually debased by a half unconscious self-deception; and how in this process truth merged into falsehood, sincerity into guile,—these opposite principles often co-existing even as active agencies in his conduct. The reader will observe that simultaneously with the anxious desire to extinguish idolatry, and to promote religion and virtue in the world, there was nurtured by the Prophet in his own heart, a licentious self-indulgence; till in the end, assuming to be the favourite of Heaven, he justified himself by "revelations" from God in the most flagrant breaches of morality. He will remark that while Mahomet

cherished a kind and tender disposition, "weeping with them that wept," and binding to his person the hearts of his followers by the ready and self-denying offices of love and friendship, he could yet take pleasure in cruel and perfidious assassination, could gloat over the massacre of an entire tribe, and savagely consign the innocent babe to the fires of hell. Inconsistencies such as these continually present themselves from the period of Mahomet's arrival at Medîna; and it is by the study of these inconsistencies that his character must be rightly comprehended. The key to many difficulties of this description may be found, I believe, in the chapter "on the belief of Mahomet in his own inspiration." When once he had dared to forge the name of the Most High God as the seal and authority of his own words and actions, the germ was laid from which the errors of his after life freely and fatally developed themselves.

and through the Coran.

I might have extended these remarks (had they not already exceeded the limits intended for them) to an examination of the doctrines and teaching of Mahomet as exhibited in the Coran. That volume, as I have before observed, does not contain any abstract or systematic code. It grew out of the incidents and objects of the day; and the best mode of ascertaining its purport and its bearing, is not to draw into one uniform system its various lessons and dogmas, liable as they were (excepting in one or two fundamental points) from time to time to differ;

Conclusion.

but to trace the development of its successive precepts and doctrines in connection with the several stages of the Prophet's life, and the motives from which he may be supposed at the moment to have acted. This with reference to some of its main doctrines and institutions, I have sought in the course of the foregoing pages to do.

MAHOMET and the CORAN, the author of Islam and the instrument by which he achieved its success, are themes worthy the earnest attention of mankind. If I have to any degree succeeded in contributing fresh materials towards the formation of a correct judgment of either, many hours of study, snatched not without difficulty from other engrossing avocations, will have secured an ample recompense.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVENTH.

I PROPOSE in this appendix to place before the reader some specimens of the traditions embodied by the Secretary of Wackidi in the section of his work devoted to the person and character of Mahomet.. These will, I hope, prove interesting from the facts they relate, as well as illustrate generally the style and contents of the Mahometan biographies of the Prophet. Extracts from the Secretary of Wackidi.

"*Description of Mahomet in the Old Testament and the Gospel.*— Mahomet was thus foretold: 'O Prophet! We have sent thee to be a Witness and a Preacher of good tidings, and a Warner, and a Defender of the Gentiles. Thou art my servant and my messenger. I have called thee *Al Mutawakkil* (he that trusteth in the Lord). He shall not be one that doeth iniquity, nor one that crieth aloud in the streets; he shall not recompense evil with evil, but he shall be one that passeth over and forgiveth. His kingdom shall be Syria. Mahomet is my elected servant; he shall not be severe nor cruel. I shall not take him away by death, till he make straight the crooked religion; and till the people say,—*There is no God but the Lord alone.* He shall open the eyes of the blind, and the ears of the deaf, and the covered hearts.'" Prophecies regarding Mahomet.

These are evident perversions of passages in Isaiah xlii. and lxi. Ayesha in one set of traditions represents them as prophecies from *the Gospel*, in ignorance apparently that they were quoted there (Matt. xii. 18) as applying to Jesus.

His disposition.—When Ayesha was questioned about Mahomet, she used to say: "He was a man like yourselves; he laughed often and smiled much."—*But how would he occupy himself at home?* "Even as any of you occupy yourselves. He would mend his clothes, and cobble his shoes. He used to help me in my household duties; but what he did oftenest was to sew. If he had the choice between two matters, he would choose the easiest, if no sin accrued therefrom. He never took revenge excepting where the honour of God was concerned. When angry with any person he would say "*What hath taken such a one that he should soil his forehead in the mud!*" His disposition.

His humility was shewn by his riding upon asses, accepting the invitation even of slaves, and when mounted, by his taking another behind him. He would say, "I sit at meals as a servant doeth, and I eat like a servant: for I really am a servant;" and he would sit as one that was always ready to rise. He discouraged (supererogatory) fasting, and works of mortification. When seated with his followers, he would remain long silent at a time. In the Mosque at Medîna, they used to repeat pieces of poetry, and tell stories regarding the incidents that occurred in the days of ignorance, and laugh; and Mahomet, listening to them, would smile at what they said.

Mahomet hated nothing more than lying, and whenever he knew that any of his followers had erred in this respect, he would hold himself aloof from them until he was assured of their repentance.

His speech.

His manner of speech.—He did not speak rapidly, running his words into one another, but enunciated each syllable distinctly, so that what he said was imprinted in the memory of every one who heard him. When at public prayers, it might be known from a distance that he was reading, by the motion of his beard. He never read in a singing or chanting style; but he would draw out his voice, resting at certain places. Thus, in the opening words of a Sura, he would do so after بسم الله, after الرحمن, and after الرحيم

Gait.

His walking.—One says that at a funeral he saw Mahomet walking, and remarked to a friend how rapidly he moved along; it seemed as if he "were doubling up the ground." He used to walk so rapidly that the people half ran behind him, and could hardly keep up with him.

Habits in eating.

His eating.—He never ate reclining, for Gabriel had told him that such was the manner of kings; nor had he ever two men to walk behind him. He used to eat with his thumb and his two first fingers; and when he had done he would lick them, beginning with the middle one. When offered by Gabriel the valley of Mecca full of gold, he preferred to forego it,—saying, that when he was hungry he would come before the Lord lowly; and when full, with praise.

Moderation.

Excellence of his Morals.—A servant maid being once long in returning from an errand, Mahomet was annoyed and said, "If it

were not for the law of retaliation, I should have punished you with this toothpick" (*i. e.* with an inappreciably light punishment.)

Mahomet at Prayers.—He used to stand for such a length of time at prayer that his legs would swell. When remonstrated with, he said—"What! Shall I not behave as a thankful servant should?" He never yawned at prayer. When he sneezed he did so with a subdued voice, covering his face. At funerals he never rode: he would remain silent on such occasions, as if conversing with himself, so that the people used to think he was holding communication with the dead. Customs at prayer.

While he accepted presents, he refused to use anything that had been offered as alms; neither would he allow any of his family to use what had been brought as alms; for, said he, "alms are the impurity of mankind" (*i. e.* that which cleanses their impurity.) His scruples on this point were so strong, that he would not eat even a date picked up on the road, lest perchance it might have dropped from a load intended as tithes. One day, little Hasan was playing by his grandfather when a basketful of dates was brought in: on inquiry, Mahomet found that they were tithes, and ordered them to be taken away and given to the poor Refugees. But Hasan having taken up one to play with, had put it in his mouth; the Prophet seeing this, opened the boy's mouth, and pulled it out—saying, "the family of Mahomet may not eat of the tithes." Refusal to make personal use of the tithes.

Food which he relished.—Mahomet had a special liking for sweetmeats and honey. A tailor once invited him to his house and placed before him barley bread, with stale suet; there was also a pumpkin in the dish; now Mahomet greatly relished the pumpkin. His servant Anas used to say as he looked at the pumpkin—"Dear little plant, how the Prophet loved thee!" He was also fond of cucumbers and of undried dates. Food.

When a lamb or a kid was being cooked, Mahomet would go to the pot, take out the shoulder, and eat it. Abu Rafi tells us, "I once slew a kid and dressed it. The Prophet asked me for the forequarter and I gave it to him." *Give me another*, he said; and I gave him the second. Then he asked for a third:—"O Prophet!" I replied, "there are but two forequarters to a kid." "*Nay*," said Mahomet, "*hadst thou remained silent, thou wouldst have handed to me as many forequarters as I asked for.*"

He used to eat moist dates and cooked food together. What he most relished was a mess of bread cooked with meat, and a dish of dates dressed with butter and milk. When he ate fresh dates he would keep the bad dates in his hand; one asked on a certain occasion that he would give him the dates so rejected:—"*Not so*," he answered; "*what I do not like for myself, I do not like to give to thee.*" Once a tray of fresh dates was brought to him; he sat down on his knees by them, and taking them up by handfuls, sent one to each of his wives; then taking another handful, he ate it himself. He kept throwing the stones on his left side, and the domestic fowls came and ate them up.

Mahomet used to have sweet (rain) water kept for his use.

Food disliked.

Food which he disliked.—On Mahomet's first arrival at Medîna, Abu Ayûb used to send him portions of baked food. On one occasion the dinner was returned uneaten, without even the marks of the Prophet's fingers. On being asked the reason, he explained that he had refrained from the dish because of the onions that were in it; for the angel which visited him disliked them; but others he said might freely eat of them. So also as to garlic; he would never allow it to pass his lips; "*for*," said he, "*I have intercourse with one*" (meaning Gabriel) "*with whom ye have not.*" He disliked flour made of almonds, saying that it was "Spend-thrifts' food." He would never partake of the large lizard (*dhabb*); for he thought it might have been the beast into which a party of the children of Israel were changed; but he said there was no harm in others eating it.

When drinking milk Mahomet once said—"When a man eateth let him pray thus:—*O Lord! grant thy blessing upon this, and feed me with better than this!* But to whomsoever the Lord giveth milk to drink, let him say,—*O Lord! grant thy blessing upon this, and vouchsafe unto me an increase thereof;* for there is no other thing which doth combine both food and drink save milk alone."

Women and scents.

Mahomet's fondness for women and scents.—A great array of traditions are produced to prove that the Prophet liked these of all things in the world the best.

Ayesha used to say,—"The Prophet loved three things,—women, scents, and food; he had his heart's desire of the two first, but not of the last." In respect of scents further traditions have been quoted in the Supplement to Vol. iii.

Narrowness of his means at Medîna.—A long chapter is devoted to this subject, containing many such traditions as the following. Fâtima once brought Mahomet a piece of bread ; it was the first that had passed his lips for three days. Ayesha tells us that for months together Mahomet did not get a full meal. "Months used to pass," she says again, "and no fire would be lighted in Mahomet's house either for baking bread or cooking meat. *How then did ye live?* By the 'two black things' الاسودان —dates and water, and by what the citizens used to send unto us:—the Lord requite them ! such of them as had milch cattle would send us a little milk. The Prophet never enjoyed the luxury of two kinds of food the same day; if he had flesh there was nothing else; and so if he had dates; so likewise if he had bread. We possessed no sieves, but used to bruise the grain and blow off the husks. One night Abu Bakr sent Mahomet the leg of a kid. Ayesha held it while the Prophet cut off a piece for himself in the dark; and in his turn the Prophet held it while Ayesha cut off a piece. '*What,*' exclaimed the listeners, '*and ye ate without a lamp!*' 'Yea,' replied Ayesha, 'had we possessed oil for a lamp, think ye not that we should have used it for our food ?'" Straitened means at Medîna.

Abu Hureira explains the scarcity thus. "It arose," he says, "from the great number of Mahomet's visitors and guests; for he never sat down to food but there were some followers with him. Even the conquest of Kheibar did not put an end to the scarcity. Because Medîna has an intractable soil, which is ordinarily cultivated for dates only,—the staple food of its inhabitants. There did not exist in the country means of support sufficient for the greatly increased population. Its fruits were the common products of the soil, which want little water; and such water as was needed the people used to carry on their backs, for in these days they had few camels. One year, moreover, a disease (premature shedding) smote the palms, and the harvest failed. It is true that a dish used to be sent for the Prophet's table from the house of Sád ibn Obâda, every day until his death, and also in the same manner by other citizens; and the Refugees used to aid likewise; but the claims upon the Prophet increased greatly, from the number of his wives and dependants."

I have noticed this subject before: *Introduction*, p. lx. The

products of the surrounding country were no doubt at first inadequate to the wants of the great numbers who flocked with Mahomet to Medîna. But it is evident that although Mahomet, in the early years of the Hegira, may have been reduced to common fare, he could hardly have ever suffered *want*, especially with so many devoted followers about him. It was the contrast between the luxury prevalent in the days when tradition was growing up, and the simplicity of Mahomet's habits, which mainly gave rise to these traditions. Thus Abd al Rahmân, when in after years he used to fare sumptuously on fine bread and every variety of meats, would weep at the contrast between his table and the Prophet's straitened fare. Another upbraids a comrade who could not live without bread made of the finest flour,—"What;" said he, "the Prophet of the Lord, to the last hour of his life, never had two full meals on the same day, of bread and of oil; and behold thou and thy fellows vainly luxuriate on the delicacies of this life, as if ye were children!"

Appearance, habits, &c.

On Mahomet's Personal appearance.—The chief traditions on this head have been embodied in the text. The following are of a more special character.

He used to wear two garments. His *izâr* (under-garment) hung down three or four inches below his knees. His mantle was not wrapped round him so as to cover his body; but he would draw the end of it under his shoulder.

He used to divide his time into three parts: one was given to God, the second allotted to his family, the third to himself. When public business began to press upon him he gave up one half of the latter portion to the service of others.

When he pointed he did so with his whole hand; and when he was astonished he turned it over (with the palm upwards?) In speaking with another, he brought his hand near to the person addressed; and he would strike the palm of the left, on the the thumb of the right hand. Angry, he would avert his face; joyful, he would look downwards. He often smiled; and, when he laughed, his teeth used to appear like hailstones.

In the interval allotted to others, he received all that came to him, listened to their representations, and occupied himself in disposing of their business and in hearing what they had to tell him. He would say on such occasions:—"Let those that are

here give information regarding that which passeth, to them that are absent; and they that cannot themselves appear to make known their necessities, let others report them to me in their stead; the Lord will establish the feet of such in the day of judgment."

The Seal of Prophecy on the back of Mahomet.—This, says one, was a protuberance on the Prophet's back of the size and appearance of a pigeon's egg. Abdallah ibn Sarjas describes it as having been as large as his closed fist, with moles round about it. Abu Ramtha, whose family were skilled in surgery, offered to remove it; but Mahomet refused, saying,—"*The Physican thereof is he who placed it where it is.*" According to another tradition, Mahomet said to Abu Ramtha "*Come hither and touch my back:*" which he did, drawing his fingers over the prophetical seal; and behold there was a collection of hairs upon the spot. Seal of prophecy.

I have not noticed this "Seal" in the body of the work, because it has been so surrounded by tradition with supernatural tales that it is extremely difficult to determine what it really was. It is said to have been the *divine* seal which, according to the predictions of the scriptures, marked Mahomet as the last of the Prophets. How far Mahomet himself encouraged this idea it is impossible to say. From the traditions quoted above, it would seem to have been nothing more than a mole of unusual size; and his saying that "God had placed it there," was probably the germ of the supernatural associations which grew up concerning it. Had Mahomet really attributed any divine virtue to it, he would have spoken very differently to one who offered to lance or remove it.

On his hair.—It reached, says one of his followers, to his shoulders; according to another to the tip of his ears. His hair used to be combed: it was neither curling nor smooth. He had, by one authority, four curled locks. His hair was ordinarily parted, but he did not care if it was not so. According to another tradition,—"The Jews and Christians used to let their hair fall down, while the heathen parted it. Now Mahomet loved to follow the people of the Book in matters concerning which he had no express command from above. So he used to let down his hair without parting it. Subsequently, however, he fell into the habit of parting it." Hair.

On his being cupped.—Some of the many traditions on this Cupping.

head have been quoted elsewhere. It was a cure which Gabriel directed him to make use of. He had the blood buried lest the dogs should get at it. On one occasion Mahomet having fainted after being cupped, an Arab is said to have gone back from the profession of Islam; (I suppose because the bodily weakness so exhibited was regarded as inconsistent with the prophetic office ?)

Moustache. *On his moustache.*—Mahomet used to clip his moustache. A Majian once came to him and said, "You ought to clip your beard and allow your moustaches to grow." "Nay," said the Prophet, "for my Lord hath commanded me to clip the moustaches and allow the beard to grow."

Dress. *On his dress.*—Various traditions are quoted on the different colours he used to wear,—white chiefly, but also red, yellow, and green. He sometimes put on woollen clothes. Ayesha, it is said, shewed a piece of woollen stuff in which she swore that Mahomet died. She adds that he once had a black woollen dress; and she still remembered as she spoke, the contrast between the Prophet's white skin, and the black cloth. "The odour of it, however, becoming unpleasant, he cast it off,—for he loved sweet smells."

He entered Mecca, on the taking of the city (some say), with a black turban. He had also a black standard. The end of his turban used to hang down between his shoulders. He once received the present of a scarf for a turban, which had a figured or spotted fringe; and this he cut off before wearing it. He was very fond of striped Yemen stuffs. He used to wrap his turban many times round his head, and "the edge of it used to appear below like the soiled clothes of an oil-dealer."

He once prayed in a silken dress, and then cast it aside with abhorrence, saying, "*This it doth not become the pious to wear.*" On another occasion, as he prayed in a figured or spotted mantle, the spots attracted his notice; when he had ended he said,—"*Take away this mantle, for verily it hath distracted me in my prayers, and bring me a common one.*" His sleeve ended at the wrist. The robes in which he was in the habit of receiving embassies, and his fine Hadhramaut mantle, remained with the Caliphs; when worn or rent these garments were mended with fresh cloth; and in after times the Caliphs used to wear them at the festivals. When he put on new clothes, (either an under-garment, a girdle, or a turban,) the Prophet would offer up a prayer such as this:—

"Praise be to the Lord who hath clothed me with that which shall hide my nakedness, and adorn me while I live,—I pray thee for the good that is in this, and the good that hath been made for it; and I seek refuge from the evil that is in the same, and from the evil that hath been made for it."

Mahomet had a piece of tanned leather which was ordinarily spread for him in the Mosque to pray upon. He had also a mat of palm-fibre for the same purpose: this was always taken, after the public prayers, into his wives' apartments for him to use there.

He had a small apartment partitioned off from the Mosque and laid with matting, into which he used to retire for the evening prayer. The people, in their zeal to observe the fast of Ramadhân, gathered together at a late hour in the Mosque for the nightly prayer; and some of them, fancying that the Prophet had fallen asleep in his apartment, began to cough, as a sign for him to issue forth. He came out and said,—"I have observed for some days your coming for the nightly prayer into the Mosque, until I feared that it would grow by custom and prescription into a binding ordinance for you so to come; and verily, if this were commanded, my people could not fulfil the command. Wherefore, my people, pray at evening-tide in your own houses. For truly the best prayer of a man is that offered up in his own house, excepting the prayers which are commanded to be offered in the Mosque."

Golden ring.

On his golden ring.—Mahomet had a ring made of gold; he used to wear it, with the stone inwards, on his right hand. The people began to follow his example and make rings of gold for themselves. Then the Prophet sat down upon the pulpit, and taking off the ring said,—"*By the Lord, I will not wear this ever again;*" so saying, he threw it from him. And all the people did likewise. According to another tradition, he cast it away because it had distracted his attention when preaching; or because the people were attracted by it. He then prohibited the use of golden signet rings.

Silver ring.

On his silver ring.—I have given the purport of these traditions elsewhere. *Introduction*, p. lxxvi.

Shoes.

On his shoes.—His servant, Anas, had charge of his shoes and of his water-pot; after his master's death he used to shew his shoes. They were after the Hadhramaut pattern, with two thongs.

In the year 100 or 110 A.H., one went to buy shoes at Mecca, and the shoemaker offered to make them exactly after the model of Mahomet's, which he said he had seen in the possession of Fâtima, the granddaughter of Abbás. His shoes used to be cobbled. He was in the habit of praying with his shoes on. On one occasion, having taken them off at prayers, all the people did likewise; but Mahomet told them there was no necessity for doing so, for he had merely taken off his own because Gabriel had apprised him that there was some dirt attaching to them. The thongs of his shoes once broke and were mended by a new piece; after the service Mahomet desired his shoes to be taken away, and the thongs restored as they were; "for," said he, "I was distracted at prayer thereby."

Tooth-picks. *On his tooth-picks.*—Ayesha tells us that Mahomet never lay down, by night or by day, but on waking he applied the tooth-pick to his teeth before he performed ablution. He used it so much as to wear away his gums. The tooth-pick was always placed conveniently for him at night, so that when he got up in the night to pray, he might use it before his lustrations. One says that he saw him with the tooth-pick in his mouth, and that he kept saying ﻉ ﻉ (a'â, a'â,) as if about to vomit. His tooth-picks were made of the green wood of the palm tree. He never travelled without one.

Articles of toilet. *His articles of toilet.*—I have noticed these in the Supplement to Vol. III. He very frequently oiled his hair, poured water on his beard, and applied antimony to his eyes.

Armour. *His armour.*—Four sections are devoted to the description of Mahomet's armour,—his swords, coats of mail, shields, lances, and bows.

Miscellaneous. The Prophet used to snuff *simsim* (sesamum), and wash his hands in a decoction of the wild plum tree. When he was afraid of forgetting anything, he would tie a thread on his finger or his ring.

Horses. *On his horses, &c.*—The first horse which Mahomet ever possessed was one he purchased of the Bani Fazâra, for ten owckeas (ounces of silver); and he called its name *Sakb* (running water), from the easiness of its paces. Mahomet was mounted on it at the battle of Ohod, there being but one other horse from Medîna on the field. He had also a horse called *Sabáha:* he raced it,

and it won, and he was greatly rejoiced thereat. He had a third horse named *Murtajiz* (neigher).

When his white mule arrived from Muckouckas, Mahomet sent it to his wife Omm Salma; and she gave some wool and palm-fibre, of which they made a rope and halter. Then the Prophet brought forth a garment, doubled it fourfold, and throwing it over the back of the beast, straightway mounted it, with one of his followers behind him. It survived till the reign of Muâvia.

Farwah (the Syrian governor, said to have died a martyr) sent the Prophet a mule called *Fizza*, and he gave it to Abu Bakr; also an ass, which died on the march back from the farewell pilgrimage. He had another ass called *Yafûr*.

Ali was anxious to breed a mule similar to that of Mahomet; but Mahomet told him that "no one would propose so unnatural a cross save he who lacked knowledge."

Riding camels.

His riding camels.—Besides Al Caswa, Mahomet had a camel called Adhba, which in speed outstripped all others. Yet one day an Arab passed it when at its fleetest pace. The Moslems were chagrined at this; but Mahomet said—"It is the property of the Lord, that whensoever men exalt anything, or seek to exalt it, then the Lord putteth down the same."

Milch camels.

His milch camels.—Mahomet had twenty milch camels, the same that were plundered at Al Ghâba. Their milk was for the support of his family: every evening they gave two large skins full. Omm Salma relates:—"Our chief food when we lived with Mahomet was milk. The camels used to be brought from al Ghâba every evening. I had one called Arîs, and Ayesha one called Al Samra. The herdman fed them at Al Jûania, and brought them to our homes in the evening. There was also one for Mahomet.

Hind and Asma, two herdmen, used to feed them one day at Ohod, the other at Himna. They beat down leaves from the wild trees for them, and on these the camels fed during the night. They were milked for the guests of the Prophet, and his family got what was over. If the evening drew in and the camels' milk was late in being brought, Mahomet would say,—"The Lord make thirsty him who maketh thirsty the family of Mahomet at night."

Milch flocks.

His milch flocks.—Mahomet had seven goats which Omm Ayman used to tend (this probably refers to an early period of his residence at Medîna). His flocks grazed at Ohod and Himna

alternately, and were brought back to the house of that wife, whose turn it was to have Mahomet. A favourite goat having died, the Prophet desired its skin to be tanned.

Mahomet attached a peculiar blessing to the possession of goats. "There is no house," he would say, "possessing a goat, but a blessing abideth thereon; and there is no house possessing three goats, but the angels pass the night there praying for its inmates until the morning."

Servants. *Mahomet's servants.*—Fourteen or fifteen persons are mentioned who served the Prophet at various times. His slaves he always freed.

Houses. *The houses of his wives.*—Abdallah ibn Yazîd relates that he saw the houses in which the wives of the Prophet dwelt, at the time when Omar ibn al Azîz, then governor of Medîna, demolished them.* They were built of unburnt bricks, and had separate apartments made of palm branches, daubed (or built up) with mud: he counted nine houses, each having separate apartments, in the space from the house of Ayesha and the gate of Mahomet to the house of Asma, daughter of Hosein. Observing the dwelling place of Omm Salma, he questioned her grandson concerning it; who told him that when the Prophet was absent on the expedition to Dûma, Omm Salma built up an addition to her house with a wall of unburnt bricks. When Mahomet returned, he went in to her and asked what that new building was. She replied, "I purposed, O Prophet, to shut out the glances of men thereby!" Mahomet answered, "O Omm Salma! verily, the most unprofitable thing that eateth up the wealth of a believer is building." A citizen of Medîna, present at the time, confirmed this account, and added that the curtains (*purdas*) of the doors were of black hair-cloth. He was present, he said, when the despatch of the Caliph Abd al Malik (A.H. 86-88) was read aloud, which commanded that these houses should be brought within the area of the Mosque, and he never witnessed sorer weeping than there was amongst the people that day. One exclaimed—"I wish, by the Lord! that they would leave them alone thus as they are; then would those that spring up hereafter in Medîna, and strangers

* He was Caliph about one hundred years after the Hegira.

from the ends of the earth, come and see what kind of abode sufficed for the Prophet, and the sight thereof would deter men from extravagance and pride."

There were four houses of unburned bricks, the apartments being of palm branches; and five houses made of palm branches built up with mud and without any separate apartments. Each was three Arabian yards in length. Some say that they had leather curtains for the doors. One could reach the roof with the hand.

The house of Haritha was next to that of Mahomet. Now whenever Mahomet took to himself another wife, he added a new house to the row, and Hâritha was obliged successively to remove his house and build on the space beyond. At last this was repeated so often that the Prophet said to those about him—"Verily, it shameth me to turn Hâritha over and over again out of his house."

Mahomet's private property.—There were seven gardens which Mukheirîck, the Jew, left to Mahomet. Omar ibn al Azîz, the Caliph, said that when governor of Medîna, he ate of the fruit of these, and never tasted sweeter dates. Others say that these gardens formed a portion of the confiscated estates of the Bani Nadhîr. They were afterwards dedicated perpetually to pious purposes. Properties.

Mukheirîck is said to have been a learned Jewish priest and a leader of the B. Cainucâa, who "recognized Mahomet by his marks, and identified him as the promised Prophet." But the love of his own religion prevailed,—so that he did not openly join Islam. Nevertheless, on the day of Ohod he put on his armour, notwithstanding it was the Sabbath day, and went forth with the Moslems and was killed. His corpse was found and was buried near the Moslems; but he was not prayed over, nor did Mahomet beg mercy for his soul then or afterwards; the utmost he would say of him was, "*Mukheirîck, the best of the Jews!*" He had large possessions in groves and gardens, and left them all to Mahomet.

Mahomet had three other properties:—

I. The confiscated lands of the Bani Nadhîr. The produce of these was appropriated to his own wants. One of the plots was called *Mashruba Omm Ibrahîm*,—the summer garden of the slave girl, Mary, the mother of Ibrahîm,—where the Prophet used to visit her.

II. Fadak; the fruits of this were reserved as a fund for indigent travellers.

III. The fifth share in Kheibar. This was divded into three parts. Two were devoted for the benefit of the Moslems generally (*i.e.* for state purposes); the proceeds of the third, Mahomet assigned for the support of his own family; and what remained over he added to the fund for the use of the Moslems.

Wells. *The wells from which Mahomet drank.*—A variety of wells are enumerated out of which Mahomet drank water, and on which he invoked a blessing, spitting into them. One night as he sat by the brink of the well called Ghar h, he said—"Verily, I am sitting beside one of the fountains of Paradise." He praised its water above that of all other wells, and not only drank of it, but bathed in it. He also drank from the fountain of Budhaa, taking up the water in both his hands and sipping it. He would send the sick to bathe in this fountain; "and when they had bathed, it used to be as if they were loosed from their bonds."

The well called Ruma belonged to a man of the Bani Mozeina. Mahomet said that it would be a meritorious deed if any one were to buy this well and make it free to the public. Othmân, hearing this, purchased the well for 400 dinars, and attached a pulley to it. Mahomet again happening to pass the well, was apprised of what Othmân had done; he prayed the Lord to grant him a reward in Paradise, and calling for a bucket of water he drank therefrom, and praised the water, saying that it was both cold and sweet.

APPENDIX TO VOL. IV.—CHRONOLOGICAL VIEW OF EVENTS AT MEDINA.

[The Dates are according to M. C. de Perceval's Calculations.]

MAHOMETAN MONTH.	Ist Year of the Hegira; *begins 19 April*, 622, A.D. Æt. 54.	IInd Year of the Hegira; *begins 7 May* 623, A.D. Æt. 55.	IIIrd Year of the Hegira; *begins 26 April* 624, A.D. Æt. 56.	IVth Year of the Hegira; *begins 15 April* 625, A.D. Æt. 57.	Vth Year of the Hegira; *begins 3 May* 626, A.D. Æt. 58.	VIth Year of the Hegira; *begins 23 April* 627, A.D. Æt. 59.	VIIth Year of the Hegira; *begins 12 April* 628, A.D. Æt. 60.	VIIIth Year of the Hegira; *begins 1 May* 629, A.D. Æt. 61.	IXth Year of the Hegira; *begins 20 April*, 630, A.D. Æt. 62.	Xth Year of the Hegira; *begins 9 April*, 631. Æt. 63.	XIth Year of the Hegira; *begins 29 March*, 632.
Moharram.	*April*, 622.	*May*, 623.	*May*, 624. Expedition against the Banî Sulaim (*Carcarat al Cudr*)	*April, May.* Expedition of Abû Salma to Catan. *Assassination of Sofián ibn Ouais.*	*May.* Expedition of Dzât al Rick.	*April, May.*	*May, April.* Despatches sent to Constantinople, Persia, and other courts.	*May.*	*April.* Collectors of tithes and envoys sent to various countries. Expedition against the B. Tamîm.	*April.* Deputations continue throughout this year from all quarters.	*April.* Aswad, the impostor, revolts in Yemen.
Safar.	*May.*	*June.* Expedition of Mahomet to Abwa. Ali marries Fátima.	*June.* Expedition against the B. Ghatafân.	*May, June.* Medyan et Al Hejr; and at Bir Halima.	*June.* Mahomet marries ZEINAB, DAUGHTER OF JAHSH.	*May, June.*	*May.*	*June.* Minor expeditions.	*May.* TRIBUTARY DEPUTATIONS FROM MADINA. Minor expeditions.	*May.*	*May.* Preparations for Osâma's expedition to Syria.
Rabî I.	*June.* Mahomet arrives in Medîna, and lodges with Abu Ayûb	*July.* Expedition of Mahomet to Buwât. Expedition of Mahomet against Kurz, the robber.	*July.* Kâb ibn al Ashraf assassinated.	*June, July.* BANÛ NADÎR EXILED.	*July.* His expedition to Dûma.	*June, July.* Expeditions against the B. Lahyân, and the robber Oyeina.	*June.*	*July.* Dûma ditto	*June.* Expedition against the Ahyâr ans ibn Jodda. Ditto of against the B. Tha.	*June.* Expedition of Khâlid to Nejrân. IBRAHIM born.	*June.* DEATH OF MAHOMET.
Rabî II.	*July.*	*August.*	*August.*	*August.*	*August.*	*July, August.* Minor expeditions.	*July.*	*August.*	*July.* Minor expeditions.	*July.* Mohâjir sent to Yemen as chief collector and envoy.	
Jumâdî I.	*August.*	*September.*	*September.* Expedition to Bohâtsa against B. Sulaym.	*September.*	*September.*	*August, Sept.* Abûl Aas, Mahomet's son-in-law brought a prisoner to Medîna.	*August.* CAMPAIGN AGAINST KHAIBAR. Mahomet marries SAFIA. Is poisoned.	*Sept.* DEPUTATIONS AT MADINA.	*August.*	*August.*	
Jumâdî II.	*September.*	*October.* Expedition to Gabâtra.	*October.* Expedition to Al Cutâba.	*October.*	*October.*	*Sept, Oct.* Minor expeditions.	*September.* Returns by Wâdi al Cora.	*October.* Expedition of Abû Al Salâsil towards Syria.	*September.*	*September.*	
Rajab.	*October.*	*November.* Expedition of Abdalla to Nakhla. The Kibla changed.	*November.*	*November.*	*November.*	*Oct, Nov.* Ditto.	*October.* Mahomet marries UMM HABIBA. Takes MARY the Copt as a concubine.	*November.* Expedition of Dzât Al Salâsil.	*October.* Expedition to TABUK.	*October.*	
Shaâbân.	*November.*	*December.* Fast of Ramadhân imposed.	*December.* Mahomet marries HAFSA.	*December.*	*Dec.* Campaign against the B. Mostalick. Mahomet marries Juwairia. Misadventure of Ayesha.	*Nov, Dec.* Campaign of Abdal Rahmân to to Dûma.	*November.* Several small expeditions.	*Dec.* Expedition against Dzât Alcalâlira.	*November.* KHÂLID re-duces *Dzoom al Jendal.*	*November.*	
Ramadhân.	*December.* Hamza sent in pursuit of a caravan from Mecca.	*January*, 624. BATTLE OF BADR. *Asmâ* assassinated.	*January*, 625.	*Jan.* 625. Mahomet marries ZEINAB, DAUGHTER OF KHOZEIMA. A [illegible] sons born to him.	*January*, 627.	*Jan, Jan.* 628. Expedition against the B. Fezâra. Omm Kirfa torn to pieces. *Abu Rafi* assassinated.	*December.* Ditto ditto.	*Jan.* 630. MECCA TAKEN.	*December. Submission of Tayif.*	*September.* Expedition of Ali to Yemen.	
Shawâl.	*January* 625. Mosque completed. Mahomet goes into his own house. Marries AYESHA. Expedition of Obeida to Kharâr.	*Feby.* BANÛ CAINUCKA EXILED. *Abu Afak* assassinated.	*Jany, Feby.* BATTLE OF OHOD. Expedition to *Hamrâ al Asad.*	*Feb.* Mahomet marries [illegible] SALMA.	*February.*	*Jan, Feb.* Ouir ibn Zârim assassinated. Urwa robbers crucified. *Attempt to assassinate Abu Sofián.*	*January*, 629. Ditto ditto.	*Feb.* Battle of Honain. Siege of TAIF.	*January*, 631.	*January*, 632.	
Dzul Cada.	*February.* Expedition of Sâd to Al Kharâr.	*March.*	*February, March.*	*March.* Second expedition to Badr.	*Feb, March.* SIEGE OF NADÎRA.	*Feb, March.* Pilgrimage to Hodeibia. TREVE WITH CORAISH.	*February.* LESSER PILGRIMAGE. Mahomet marries MAIMUNA.	*March.* Mahomet performs the Lesser Pilgrimage, and returns to Medîna.	*February.*	*February.*	
Dzul Hijj.	*March, April.* Jowtah Fast of the almonest. [*A month intercalated.*]	*April.* Expedition of Nowâwik. Mahomet observes the *Eid ool Zoha* at the Endgah of Medîna.	*March, April.*	*April, May.* [*A month intercalated.*]	*March, April.* Massacre of the B. Corydza. Mahomet takes RAIHANA as a concubine.	*March, April.* Second grandson born to Mahomet.	*March, April.* Unsuccessful expedition against the B. Sulaim. [*A month intercalated.*]	*April.* Birth of Mary's son, IBRAHIM.	*March.* Pilgrimage of Abu Bakr. Ali notifies that Nicea will be closed against idolaters.	*March.* THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE.	

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